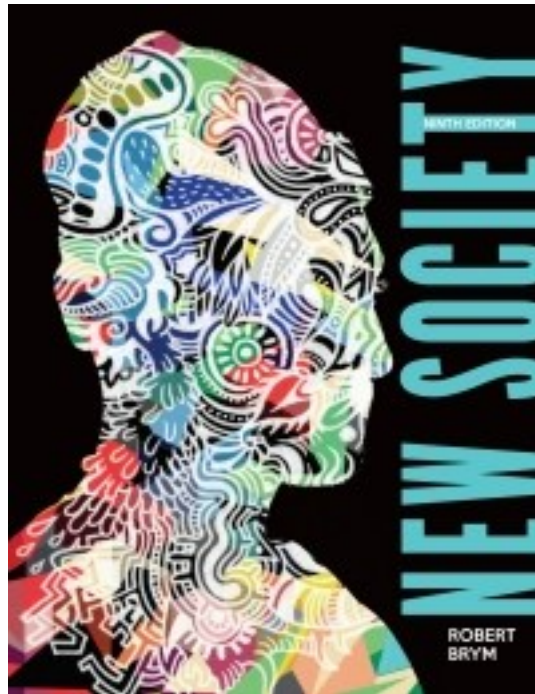


(eBook PDF) New Society 9th Canadian Edition

Visit to download the full and correct content document:
<https://ebookmass.com/product/ebook-pdf-new-society-9th-canadian-edition/>





NINTH EDITION

NEW SOCIETY

ROBERT
BRYM

CONTENTS



ABOUT THE AUTHORS xii

PREFACE xvi

PART 1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

INTRODUCING SOCIOLOGY ROBERT BRYM 2

INTRODUCTION 3

- Sociology as a Life or Death Issue 3
- The Goals of This Chapter 4

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE 5

- The Sociological Explanation of Suicide 6
- From Personal Troubles to Social Structures 7
- The Sociological Imagination 9
- Three Revolutions and the Origins of the Sociological Imagination 10

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES 12

- The Origins of Sociology 12
- Theory, Research, and Values 12
- Functionalism 13
- Conflict Theory 14
 - CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Dysfunctional Religion* 15

The Cultural Turn and Poststructuralism: Gramsci and Foucault 16

Symbolic Interactionism 17

Feminist Theory 19

THEIR REVOLUTION AND OURS 20

- The Postindustrial Revolution 21
- Postindustrialism and Globalization: Opportunities and Pitfalls 22
 - CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Globalization and the Innu of Labrador* 23

Why Sociology? 25

POSTSCRIPT: CAREERS IN SOCIOLOGY 25

SUMMARY 26

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 27

GLOSSARY 27

NOTES 29

Chapter 2

RESEARCH METHODS NEIL GUPPY 30

INTRODUCTION 31

- Social Science as a Social Practice 31
- Minimizing Bias in Social Science 32
- Scientific vs. Nonscientific Thinking 33
- Understanding Science Sociologically 34
- Natural vs. Social Science 34

METHODS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH 35

- Explanation 35
- Understanding 36
- Ethics in Social Research 37

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL RESEARCH 37

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *The Relationship between Power and Knowledge in Research* 38

Experiments 38

Survey Research 40

Qualitative Research 43

Comparing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches 45

Other Methods of Research 46

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Governments and Big Data* 48

THE ANALYSIS OF NUMERICAL DATA 49

THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH 51

SUMMARY 51

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 52

GLOSSARY 52

NOTE 53

PART 2 CULTURE

Chapter 3

CULTURE ROBERT BRYM 56

CULTURE AS PROBLEM SOLVING 57

THE ORIGINS AND COMPONENTS OF CULTURE 57

- Abstraction: Creating Symbols 58
- Cooperation: Creating Norms and Values 58
- Production: Creating Material and Nonmaterial Culture 58
- Culture and Biology 59
- Language and the Sapir-Whorf Thesis 60

CULTURE AS FREEDOM AND CONSTRAINT 61

- A Functionalist Analysis of Culture: Culture and Ethnocentrism 61

CULTURE AS FREEDOM 62

- Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Production 62
- Cultural Diversification 62
- Multiculturalism 63

A Conflict Analysis of Culture: The Rights Revolution 65

NEL

From Diversity to Globalization 65

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *The Decline and Disappearance of Languages, Indigenous Canadian and Other* 67

Postmodernism 68

Is Canada the First Thoroughly Modern Postmodern Country? 70

CULTURE AS CONSTRAINT 71

Rationalization 71

Consumerism 73

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Control and Creativity on the Internet* 74

From Counterculture to Subculture 75

SUMMARY 76

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 77

GLOSSARY 77

NOTES 78

Chapter 4

SOCIALIZATION LISA STROHSCHNEIN 79

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL ISOLATION
IN CHILDHOOD 80

FORMATION OF THE SELF 81

Sigmund Freud 81

Charles Horton Cooley 81

George Herbert Mead 81

Paul Willis 82

AT THE INTERSECTION OF BIOGRAPHY AND
HISTORY 82

Sociology of the Life Course 83

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Must I Be My Age?* 84

CHILDHOOD, ADOLESCENCE, AND EMERGING
ADULTHOOD 84

Age Cohort 85

Generation 86

HOW SOCIALIZATION WORKS 90

AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION 90

Families 90

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Inequality across the Life Course* 92

Schools: Functions and Conflicts 93

Symbolic Interactionism and the Self-Fulfilling
Prophecy 93

Peer Groups 94

The Mass Media 95

The Mass Media and Feminist Approaches to
Socialization 95

Resocialization and Total Institutions 96

SOCIALIZATION AND THE FLEXIBLE SELF 98

Self-Identity and the Internet 98

SUMMARY 99

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 100

GLOSSARY 100

Chapter 5

GENDERS AND SEXUALITIES MARISA YOUNG AND TINA FETNER 101

INTRODUCTION 102

SEX, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY 102

Defining Sex and Gender 102

SEXUALITIES AND SEXUAL IDENTITY 103

UNDERSTANDING GENDER AND SEXUALITY 104

Essentialism vs. Sociological Views 104

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Trans Women of Colour Spark the Modern LGBTQ Movement* 105

POLICIES TO REDUCE INEQUALITY BY GENDER AND
SEXUALITY 107

Gender-Based Legislation 107

PERSISTENT PATTERNS OF INEQUALITY BY
GENDER AND SEXUALITY 108

Patterns of Inequality in Paid Work 108

EXPLAINING GENDER AND LGBTQ INEQUALITY
IN PAID WORK 111

Supply-Side Explanations 111

Demand-Side Explanations 112

INEQUALITIES IN UNPAID WORK 113

Domestic Responsibilities 113

EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN UNPAID WORK 114

Individual-Centred Theories 114

Cultural Theory 115

Intersecting Bases of Social Inequality for Paid and
Unpaid Work 115

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: *Intersectionality and Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* 116

CLOSING THE GAP: INITIATIVES TO EQUALIZE
STATUSES 117

Social Groups and Political Action 117

Human Rights Policies 117

Employment Policies 117

Family-Friendly Policies
in the Workplace 118

CULTURE CHANGE, GENDER EXPECTATIONS, AND THE
LGBTQ COMMUNITY 118

Changing Perceptions of Gender Roles 118

Changing Roles in Canada: The Gendered Division of
Labour 119

Changing Perceptions of LGBTQ People 120

SUMMARY 120

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 121

GLOSSARY 121

Chapter 6

COMMUNICATION AND MASS MEDIA SONIA BOOKMAN 123

WHY STUDY THE MASS MEDIA? 124

WHAT ARE THE MASS MEDIA? 125

Mass Media and Society 126

DETERMINISTIC THEORIES OF MEDIA INFLUENCE 128

Innis and McLuhan 128

The Political-Economy Perspective 129

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Government Intervention in Canadian Media Industries* 133

VOLUNTARISTIC THEORIES OF MEDIA INFLUENCE 134

Cultural Studies 134

The Media and Discourses 135

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Advertising and Identity* 135

Reception Analysis 137

SOCIAL MEDIA 137

Social Media's Potential 138

The Downside of Social Media 139

The Hard Answer 140

SUMMARY 140

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 141

GLOSSARY 141

PART 3

INEQUALITY

Chapter 7

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION MICHELLE MAROTO

AND HARVEY KRAHN 144

INTRODUCTION 145

STRATIFICATION: A CORNERSTONE OF SOCIOLOGY 146

SOCIAL HIERARCHIES IN STRATIFIED SOCIETIES 146

Ascribed and Achieved Status 147

Open and Closed Stratification Systems 147

Social Class 148

EXPLANATIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION 149

Karl Marx: Capitalism, Exploitation, and Class Conflict 149

Max Weber: Class and Other Dimensions of Inequality 151

Davis and Moore: A Functional Theory of Stratification 152

Gerhard Lenski: Technology and Stratification Systems 153

Erik Olin Wright: A Neo-Marxist Approach 154

Frank Parkin: A Neo-Weberian Approach 155

Pierre Bourdieu: Different Forms of Capital 155

Explanations of Social Stratification: Summing Up 156

OCCUPATIONS, SOCIAL CLASS, AND INEQUALITY IN CANADA 157

Occupational Shifts over Time 157

Occupational Mobility and Status Attainment 158

The Distribution of Wealth 159

Income Distribution 160

The Poor 161

Material Inequality in Canada: Summing Up 164

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *How Precarious Work Contributes to Economic Insecurity in Canada* 165

Consequences of Material Inequality 165

RESPONDING TO INEQUALITY 167

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Housing, Homelessness, and Canada's Commitment to Social Housing* 168

SUMMARY 169

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 169

GLOSSARY 169

Chapter 8

RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS VIC

SATZEWICH 172

INTRODUCTION 173

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DIFFERENCE 174

Ethnicity 174

Race 175

Racism 176

THEORIES OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS 178

Social Psychology 178

Primordialism 179

Normative Theories 179

Power-Conflict Theories 180

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES 180

Explanations of Indigenous Conditions 181

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Bad Policing or Risky Behaviour?* 184

Class and Gender Diversity 185

QUEBEC: NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY 185

The Social Basis of Québécois Nationalism 186

Who Is Québécois? 187

IMMIGRATION: STATE FORMATION AND

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 189

Factors That Shape Canadian Immigration 190

Contemporary Immigration Categories 191

| **CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY:** *Transnational Ties and Suspect Minorities* 193

ETHNIC INEQUALITY AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR

MARKET 193

John Porter and the Vertical Mosaic 193

The Declining Significance of the Vertical Mosaic 194

SUMMARY 196

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER 197

GLOSSARY 197

Chapter 9

DEVELOPMENT, UNDERDEVELOPMENT, AND GLOBALIZATION ANTHONY WINSON 199

COMMONSENSE THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT 200

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT? 200

THE RELEVANCE OF DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL INEQUALITIES: SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SECURITY 201

EARLY THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT 202

Development in Stages 202

Development as a State of Mind 202

Development as Dependency 203

From Contact to Colonialism 203

The Slave Trade	203
The Structural Roots of Underdevelopment	204
Countries vs. Classes as Causes of Underdevelopment	204
Not All Countries Are Alike: Class Alliances and State Control	205
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>The Destruction of Third World Dominance in Manufacturing</i>	206
Beyond Dependency: Agrarian Class Structure and Underdevelopment	206
Development in Canada	207
THE NEOLIBERAL ERA: DEBT, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, AND UPHEAVAL IN THE SOUTH	208
The Rise of Neoliberalism	208
Neoliberalism and SAPs as Solutions to Poverty	208
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Globalization and Work</i>	212
STATE VIOLENCE, WAR, AND THE PRODUCTION OF POVERTY	213
RESISTANCE TO THE NEOLIBERAL NEW WORLD ORDER	215
Government Resistance	215
Post-Neoliberalism	216
Popular Resistance	216
SUMMARY	217
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	218
GLOSSARY	218

PART 4 INSTITUTIONS

Chapter 10 FAMILIES AMBER GAZSO AND KAREN KOBAYASHI	220
INTRODUCTION	221
CHANGES IN FAMILIES AND FAMILY RELATIONS	222
Our Approach	224
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Polyamory and the Law</i>	224
KEY CONCEPTS	225
Family and Kin	225
Marriage	226
Love: Romantic and Polyamorous	227
THEORIES: THEN AND NOW	227
Conflict Theory	227
Functionalism	228
Symbolic Interactionism	228
Early Theories in Hindsight	229
Feminism	229
The Life-Course Perspective	229
HISTORICAL FAMILIES, WITH ROSE-COLOURED GLASSES REMOVED	229
Colonialism	229
Industrialization	230
SINCE WORLD WAR I	231

War	231
The Welfare State and Social Policy	232
Indigenous Families	232
Immigration	233
Parenthood	233
Paid and Unpaid Work	234
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Toronto Child Poverty Divided along Racial Lines</i>	236
CONCLUSION	236
SUMMARY	236
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	237
GLOSSARY	237
Chapter 11 EDUCATION SCOTT DAVIES	239
INTRODUCTION	240
HOW SCHOOLS CONNECT TO SOCIETY: CLASSICAL AND CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES	240
SELECTION	241
Changing School Structure	242
Inequality among Students	244
SOCIALIZATION	247
Changing Forms of Moral Education	248
Creating Identities? Gender and Race	250
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Equity Categories and Equity Policy</i>	252
The Limits of School Socialization	253
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	254
Theories of School Organization	254
School Authority: From Tradition to Rationality to Markets?	256
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Can Digital Technology Improve Classroom Learning?</i>	258
CONCLUSION	261
SUMMARY	262
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	262
GLOSSARY	262
Chapter 12 RELIGION REGINALD W. BIBBY	264
INTRODUCTION	265
SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION	265
THEORETICAL TRADITIONS	266
Marx and Conflict	266
Durkheim and Collectivity	267
Weber and Ideas	268
THE NATURE OF RELIGION	269
Personal Religiosity	270
Collective Religiosity	271
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>The Funding of Religious Education</i>	275
THE SOURCES OF RELIGION	279
Individual-Centred Explanations	279

Structure-Centred Explanations	281
THE CONSEQUENCES OF RELIGION	282
Personal Consequences	282
Interpersonal Consequences	283
Societal Consequences	285
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Religion and the Residential Schools</i>	286
THE FUTURE OF RELIGION	288
SUMMARY	290
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	290
GLOSSARY	290

PART 5 CHANGE AND CONFLICT

Chapter 13	
DEVIANCE AND CRIME	JULIAN TANNER 294
INTRODUCTION	295
CONCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND DEVIANCE	295
Crime and Deviance as Norm-Violating Behaviour	295
Crime and Deviance as Labels and Social Constructs	298
Crime in the News	300
COUNTING CRIME AND DEVIANCE: NUMBERS AND MEANING	301
Official Statistics	301
Regional Variations in Crime Rates	303
Homicide Rates	303
Other Data Sources: Self-Report Surveys and Direct Observation	305
CORRELATES OF CRIME	305
THEORIES OF CRIME AND DEVIANCE	307
Strain Theory	307
Social Learning Theories: Edwin Sutherland and Differential Association	309
Control Theory	309
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>The Politics of Criminal Justice</i>	310
Routine Activities Theory	311
TYPES OF CRIME AND DEVIANCE	311
Gender and Crime	311
Youth, Crime, and Deviance	312
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Schools, Sexual Assault, and Sexualized Dress Codes</i>	313
Net Effects: Internet Deviance	314
RESPONDING TO CRIME AND DEVIANCE	314
Incarceration	314
INTERVENTION	317
Preventing Crime	317
Big Brother Is Watching You: Surveillance in Everyday Life	317
SUMMARY	318
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	319
GLOSSARY	319

Chapter 14	
HEALTH AND AGING	MARGARET J. PENNING 321
CHALLENGING COMMONSENSE BELIEFS ABOUT HEALTH AND AGING	322
INDIVIDUAL AND POPULATION AGING	323
HEALTH AND OLD AGE	326
Inequality, Health, and Aging	328
Explaining Social Inequalities in Health	330
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Why we Haven't Won the War on Cancer</i>	332
Intersecting Inequalities and Health over the Life Course	333
HEALTHCARE	334
Self-Care and Informal Care	334
Formal Medical and Home Care	334
Healthcare System Change and Reform	336
Privatization and Profitization	337
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Free Trade and State Regulation of Prescription Drug Prices: Who Wins and Who Loses?</i>	337
SUMMARY	339
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	339
GLOSSARY	339

Chapter 15	
POLITICS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	ROBERT BRYM 341
INTRODUCTION	342
POWER FROM ABOVE: NORMAL POLITICS	343
Pluralist Theory	345
Elite Theory	345
Power-Balance Theory	348
State-Centred Theory	350
POWER FROM BELOW: POLITICS BEYOND THE RULES	351
Relative-Deprivation Theory	351
Resource Mobilization Theory	352
Framing Discontent	353
Back to 1968	354
THE HISTORY AND FUTURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	355
I. The Rich Countries	355
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>The Women's Movement and Electoral Politics</i>	356
II. The Other 85 Percent	358
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY: <i>Democratic Cycles</i>	359
SUMMARY	363
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER	363
GLOSSARY	364
NOTES	364
REFERENCES	365
INDEX	399

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

ABOUT THE GENERAL EDITOR AND CONTRIBUTOR

ROBERT BRYM



Robert Brym is S. D. Clark Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, a member of the President's

Teaching Academy, and a winner of the Northrop Frye Prize for academic and teaching excellence and the *British Journal of Sociology* Prize. His introductory-level textbooks have been published in Canada, Quebec (in French), the United States, Brazil (in Portuguese), and Australia. He has published research on the sociology of intellectuals, social movements in Canada, Jews in Russia, collective and state violence in Israel and Palestine, the 2010–11 Arab Spring and the ensuing Arab Winter, and the effects of social media on social protest.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

REGINALD W. BIBBY



Reginald W. Bibby is one of Canada's leading experts on religion and social trends. He is Professor of Sociology at the University of Lethbridge. For more than four decades, he has been monitoring social trends through his *Project Canada* national surveys of adults and teenagers, recently in partnership with Angus Reid. Dr. Bibby has presented his findings in academic settings around the world. He also has taken his work well beyond the academic community through innumerable public appearances, extensive media exposure, and 17 books with sales of more than 160 000 copies. They include *The Emerging Generation* (Toronto: Irwin, 1985), *Fragmented Gods* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987), *Mosaic Madness* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1990), *Social Trends Canadian-Style* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1995), *Canada's Teens* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2001), *Restless Gods* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2002), *The Boomer Factor* (Toronto: BPS Books, 2006), *Resilient Gods* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), and *The Millennial Mosaic* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2019). In recognition of his contribution to the nation, the Governor-General appointed him an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2006.

SONIA BOOKMAN



Sonia Bookman is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Criminology at the University of Manitoba, where she teaches courses in the areas of consumer culture, media and society, and urban sociology. She is a graduate of the University of Winnipeg (BA Honours) and the University of Manchester (MA and PhD, 2006). Her research interests are in the sociology of brands and branding, cosmopolitanism, urban culture, and consumption. Her work on these topics is published in various books and journals, including the *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *Cultural Sociology*, *Space and Culture*, and in her manuscript, *Brands and the City: Entanglements and Implications for Urban Life*.

SCOTT DAVIES



Scott Davies is Canada Research Chair in Data, Equity and Policy in Education, and Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy at the University of Toronto. He has studied social movements and organizations in education and is currently examining the emergence of academic inequalities from preschool

to postsecondary levels. He has won awards from the American Education Research Association and the Canadian Education Research Association, and has been an associate editor and editorial board member of several journals. With Neil Guppy, he is author of four editions of *The Schooled Society*.

TINA FETNER



Tina Fetner is Associate Professor of Sociology at McMaster University. Her research examines LGBT activism, anti-LGBT activism, and social and political change around sexuality. She is the principal investigator for the *Sex in Canada* multi-methods research project that examines sexual behaviour and social attitudes among Canadian adults.

Her book, *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism*, examines the rise of the anti-LGBT religious right in the United States and traces over time how LGBT activists reshaped their movement in response to the threat of this opposing movement. Her most recent project examines the social organization of sexual behaviour and its intersection with social and political attitudes.

AMBER GAZSO



Amber Gazso is Associate Professor of Sociology at York University. Her main areas of research interest include citizenship, family and gender relations, qualitative research methods, poverty, and the welfare state.

She specializes in research that explores family members' relationships with social policies of the neo-liberal welfare state. She most recently published articles on how families manage low income through networks of social support (including family, community, and the state) in the neo-liberal policy context. Her current research explores how women and men, including those with children, experience receiving social assistance while managing addiction to alcohol or drugs. With Katherine Bischooping, she co-authored *Analyzing Talk in the Social Sciences: Narrative, Conversation and Discourse Strategies*. With Karen Kobayashi, she edited *Continuity and Innovation: Canadian Families in the New Millennium*.

NEIL GUPPY



Neil Guppy is Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. He is a graduate of Queen's University (BA/BPHE) and the University of Waterloo (MSc/PhD, 1981).

He has published several books, including *Education in Canada* with Scott Davies; *The Schooled Society*, 3rd ed., with Scott Davies; and *Successful Surveys*, 4th ed., with George Gray. Recently, he has published work in the *American Sociological Review*, *Canadian Public Policy*, and *International Migration Review*. At UBC, he has received both a University Killam Teaching Prize and a University Killam Research Prize.

KAREN KOBAYASHI



Karen Kobayashi is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and a Research Affiliate at the Institute for Aging and Lifelong Health at the University of Victoria. She is a social gerontologist who uses a

life-course perspective to explore the intersections of structural, cultural, and individual factors/experiences affecting health and aging in the Canadian population. She has published widely in the areas of family and intergenerational relationships, ethnicity and immigration, dementia and personhood, and health and social care. Her current research examines the social, economic, cultural, and health dimensions of an aging population, focusing on (1) the development of resources to address elder abuse in ethnocultural minority communities; (2) the facilitation of access to health and social care services and programs for ethnocultural minority immigrant older adults; and (3) new and emerging family forms and the implications of changing family relationships for social support and care in later life.

HARVEY KRAHN



Harvey Krahn is Professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta. His primary research interests include social

inequality, the sociology of work, and the sociology of education. He typically uses quantitative research methods but has also participated in studies employing qualitative and historical methods. His largest research project involves interviewing a sample of 400 individuals 8 times over 32 years (from age 18 to age 50) to learn about transitions through the life course and how social inequality is reproduced across generations. He is one of three co-authors of a textbook on the sociology of work (*Work, Industry, and Canadian Society*, 8th ed. Toronto: Nelson, 2020) and has published research findings in a wide range of scholarly journals.

MICHELLE MAROTO



Michelle Maroto is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta. Her teaching and research interests centre on social stratification and extend to gender and family, race and ethnicity, criminology, economic sociology, labour and credit markets, and disability. Her recent projects, most of which employ quantitative methods, focus on the causes and consequences of bankruptcy, wealth disparities in the United States and Canada, the effects of incarceration on wealth, and labour market outcomes for people with different types of disabilities. These projects bring together her broader interests in processes of economic insecurity and cumulative disadvantage.

MARGARET J. PENNING



Dr. Penning's research focuses on the sociology of health and healthcare as well as aging. In particular, she is interested in examining structural inequalities in health and healthcare; social support and caregiving; and the importance of self, informal, and formal care for dealing with chronic illness and disability in middle and later life. She is currently conducting research on the impact of caregiving as well as immigrant status, gender, and race intersections on mental health and well-being in middle and later life.

VIC SATZEWICH



Vic Satzewich is Professor of Sociology at McMaster University and Past President of the Canadian Sociological Association. His most recent books include *Points of Entry: How Canada's Immigration Officers Decide Who Gets In*; *"Race" and Ethnicity in Canada: A Critical Introduction*; *Racism in Canada*; *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*; and *The Ukrainian Diaspora*. In 2005, he received the Outstanding Contribution Award of the Canadian Sociological Association. *Points of Entry* won the Canadian Sociological Association's John Porter Tradition of Excellence Book Award in 2016.

LISA STROHSCHIEIN



Lisa Strohschein (rhymes with *sunshine*) was born in Ontario and received her PhD at McMaster University in 2002. She is a full Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. In her research, she investigates how family dynamics are related to health and well-being, with a focus on the impact of divorce on adults and children. In her spare time, she likes to garden, cook, and travel.

JULIAN TANNER



Julian Tanner is Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. His interest in the sociology of crime and deviance, particularly youth crime and youth culture, derives from his school days in England—as both a student in an all-boys boarding school and, later on, as a secondary schoolteacher. In addition to undergraduate and graduate courses in crime and deviance, he has taught and researched in the areas of school-to-work transitions (high-school dropouts, the effects of part-time jobs, and so on), the sociology of work (the industrial and political attitudes and behaviours of male manual workers, gender and the professions),

young people, and popular music. In the recent past, he has studied patterns of crime and victimization among young people in Toronto and youth gang activity, and is currently investigating youth and guns.

ANTHONY WINSON



Anthony Winson's research and publications have focused on agriculture, food, and rural development issues related to Canada and the developing world. He is the author of *Coffee and Democracy in Modern Costa*

Rica, *The Intimate Commodity: Food and the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Canada*, and *Contingent Work, Disrupted Lives: Labour and Community in the New Rural Economy*, with Belinda Leach. *Contingent Work* won the 2003 John Porter Tradition of Excellence Book Award of the Canadian Sociology Association. He recently co-edited (with M. Koc and J. Sumner) *Critical Perspectives in Food Studies*. His latest book is *The Industrial Diet: The Degradation of Food and the Struggle for Healthy Eating*. He is currently researching the relationship of sustainable seafood certification programs

to the Canadian retail and food supply sector. See his website at www.theindustrialdiet.com and Twitter account @industrialdiet.

MARISSA YOUNG



Marisa Young is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at McMaster University. She specializes in research on the work–family interface and gender differences in paid and unpaid work. She is currently working on

a series of cross-sectional and longitudinal projects in Canada and the United States, examining how family and community contexts shape expectations of work and family obligations. Her recently published research examines the impact of workplace resources/demands on work–family role-blurring; gender differences in experiences and family-related consequences of work–family conflict; and the psychosocial determinants of perceived demands in the work–family interface. Her future research plans include exploring how neighbourhood context impacts work–family relations and well-being among family members.

PREFACE



The job of figuring out what to do with our lives and how to act in the world is more difficult than ever. Sociology helps by analyzing the pressing social issues of the day, showing how those issues affect us, and setting out options for dealing with them. Moreover, as you will learn in the following pages, sociology views social issues from a unique disciplinary perspective. All in all, it is a controversial and exciting business. Social problems are typically complex. The options for action often involve different benefits and disadvantages for different groups. Sociologists usually see things differently than do other social and natural scientists. Not surprisingly, therefore, sociology, like any vibrant academic discipline, involves a lot of heated debate.

Unfortunately, most introductory sociology textbooks don't give much of a feel for the excitement of the discipline. They usually resemble encyclopedias full of definitions and presumably undeniable facts. They make sociological knowledge resemble the tablets some people say were brought down by Moses from Mount Sinai: abstract principles carved in stone, eternal truths that most people agree with but that tell us little about the way life is actually lived.

In preparing this book, I tried to overcome this deficiency in two ways. First, when I recruited authors to write chapters, I asked them to focus on social issues that are likely to be of real, everyday concern to Canadian undergraduates. Second, I asked the authors to highlight the controversies in the field, not the clichés. There is no sense keeping secret what any good scientist knows: Advances in knowledge usually result from intellectual conflict, not consensus.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE NINTH EDITION

With the helpful feedback of reviewers and a dedicated team of contributors, this ninth edition has been thoroughly revised and updated to include important emergent topics in the field of sociology. These topics include the following:

- Governments and big data
- Intersectionality theory
- Advertising and identity
- Precarious work
- Legalization of cannabis
- Cycles of democracy and reaction
- Polyamory and the law

Beyond this comprehensive update, the chapters have undergone the following enhancements:

- **Chapter 1, Introducing Sociology**, includes a new opening vignette exploring the promise of sociology as seen through the eyes of an Indigenous sociologist, a new Critical Sociology feature on Dysfunctional Religion, new material on mesostructures, and an expanded discussion of the sociological imagination.
- **Chapter 2, Research Methods**, features new material on racial profiling in police search and arrest practices, an updated discussion of parental education and the likelihood of attaining a university degree, and a new Critical Sociology feature on governments and big data.
- **Chapter 3, Culture**, incorporates new discussions of childhood socialization, residential schools, and language loss among Indigenous Canadians. The chapter also contains new material on the Internet and social media, hip-hop, and a new Critical Sociology feature, Control and Creativity on the Internet.
- **Chapter 4, Socialization**, features updated discussions of the age of retirement and emerging adulthood as a new stage in the life course. The chapter also contains a new discussion about Generation Z and a new Critical Sociology feature, Must I Be My Age?
- **Chapter 5, Genders and Sexualities**, is an entirely new chapter. It takes on the task of explaining variation in genders and sexualities and showing how genders and sexualities intersect with ethnicity, indigeneity, race, and class, making some people more vulnerable than

others to inequalities at work and in families. The chapter includes two new Critical Sociology features, Trans Women of Colour Spark the Modern LGBTQ Movement and Intersectionality and Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.

- **Chapter 6, Communication and Mass Media**, has been updated to include the most recent examples of how social movements, including the #MeToo movement, are influenced by social media. The chapter also features a new discussion of cyberbullying, enhanced coverage of frames and frame analysis, and a new Critical Sociology feature, Advertising and Identity.
- **Chapter 7, Social Stratification**, expands the discussion of racism, discrimination, and Indigenous people. It also incorporates new material on panhandling and the Safe Streets Act, and two new Critical Sociology features dealing with precarious work and Canada's commitment to social housing.
- **Chapter 8, Race and Ethnic Relations**, expands the discussion of ethnic relations in Quebec, paying special attention to Islamophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment in that province. It also expands and updates the discussion of police racism and carding, and provides illustrative examples from Thunder Bay, Ontario. The discussion of murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls has also been expanded, and new material has been added on the racial wage gap, transnational ethnic ties, and the Black Lives Matter movement.
- **Chapter 9, Development, Underdevelopment, and Globalization**, adds material on the impact of U.S. nuclear bomb testing on the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands in the South Pacific and the devastation of Canada's Indigenous population caused by diseases introduced by European fur traders. The chapter also includes a new Critical sociology feature on globalization and work.
- **Chapter 10, Families**, is an entirely new chapter. Instead of a traditional definition of family, which focuses on the roles played by family members, it adopts a "process" definition that draws attention to the social processes taking place in families. The result of this shift of focus is a superior understanding of the wide variety of family types that exist in contemporary society.

- **Chapter 11, Education**, features new material on credential inflation and its side effects and recent controversies concerning the quality of higher education in Canada. The chapter also includes a new Critical Sociology feature on the use of digital technology in the classroom.
- **Chapter 12, Religion**, introduces a new discussion of personal religiosity in Canada, especially among Millennials, and new material on religious identification among Indigenous Canadians. The chapter also features a new Critical Sociology feature on residential schools.
- **Chapter 13, Deviance and Crime**, discusses sexual assaults at St. Michael's College school in Toronto in the context of hypertoxic masculinity, as well as an evaluation of laws governing prostitution. The chapter also includes new material on solitary confinement and on the legalization of cannabis in Canada.
- **Chapter 14, Health and Aging**, includes new discussions of conventionally defined beauty standards and health, elder abuse, and mental health. In addition, the chapter features a new Critical Sociology feature, Free Trade and State Regulation of Prescription Drug Prices: Who Wins and Who Loses?
- **Chapter 15, Politics and Social Movements**, features a new Critical Sociology feature on cycles of democratic progress and reactionary setback that sheds sociological and historical light on current political developments in Canada and internationally.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXTBOOK

Chapter 1, *Introducing Sociology*, by Robert Brym, strikes the book's keynote. Instead of sermonizing on the question "What is sociology?" as most other textbooks do, the chapter asks, in effect, "Why sociology?"—that is, why does an undergraduate in this particular time and place need to know what sociology has to offer? The chief aim of Chapter 1 is to show how sociological thinking can clarify and help to resolve the real-life social issues that confront all of us here and now.

Chapter 2, *Research Methods*, concisely outlines how sociologists work. Neil Guppy's clarity, research experience, and balanced approach add much-needed lustre to the subject. Guppy leaves the reader with

the firm sense that, for all the intellectual liveliness and controversy on display in this book, sociology can be and is disciplined by the judicious use of logic and evidence.

The remainder of the book is divided into four parts. **Part 2** could be subtitled "Becoming Human." In **Chapter 3**, *Culture*, Robert Brym makes a case for the view that ours is an increasingly fragmented and globalized postmodern culture that increases our freedom to fashion identities that suit our individual tastes. Paradoxically, however, he also shows that our increased cultural freedom develops within definite limits beyond which it is more and more difficult to move.

In **Chapter 4**, *Socialization*, Lisa Strohschein discusses the interactive mechanisms through which we learn beliefs, symbols, values, and self-identities throughout the life cycle and in various institutions.

Tina Fetner and Marisa Young then devote **Chapter 5**, *Genders and Sexualities*, to an in-depth analysis of what might seem to be the most intimate, fixed, and biologically determined aspects of our identity but actually vary by social, cultural, and historical context.

In **Chapter 6**, *Communication and Mass Media*, Sonia Bookman dissects the impact of one of the most pervasive and influential social institutions. Bookman, along with the other Part 2 authors, thus give the reader a solid appreciation of how we become part of society and how society becomes part of us through the transmission of culture between generations.

Part 3 concerns how people become and remain unequal. In **Chapter 7**, *Social Stratification*, Michelle Maroto and Harvey Krahn show that despite recent assertions of the demise of social classes, stratification persists and continues to structure Canadians' lives. Indeed, inequality is increasing in many societies, including Canada.

Vic Satzewich devotes **Chapter 8**, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, to highlighting the deficiencies of biological and purely cultural approaches to understanding the bases of ethnic and racial inequality, emphasizing their sociological underpinnings in the Canadian context.

Anthony Winson criticizes modernization and other theories of economic underdevelopment and global inequality in **Chapter 9**, *Development, Underdevelopment, and Globalization*. He offers a compelling argument for the analytical benefits of a modified dependency approach to the problem. As

a result, the reader will complete Part 3 with a firm understanding of how people are highly differentiated and differentially rewarded, depending on their social and historical location.

Part 4 shifts the reader's attention to some of society's fundamental institutions. **Chapter 10**, Families, by Amber Gazso and Karen Kobayashi, examines how and why families and intimate relationships have undergone change and diversification, particularly in the past several decades, and suggests where they may be headed. They argue that families are sets of social processes, not just ensembles of roles, allowing them to highlight the wide diversity of family forms that exist in today's society.

Scott Davies analyzes our education system in **Chapter 11**, Education. Paradoxically, he demonstrates that the educational system is as much a cause of the persistence of inequality as it is an avenue for upward mobility.

In **Chapter 12**, Religion, Reginald Bibby assesses the social origins, consequences, and future of

religion, relying heavily on his own important survey research to argue his case for the persistence of religion in Canadian society and the growing polarization of Canadians into religious and secular camps.

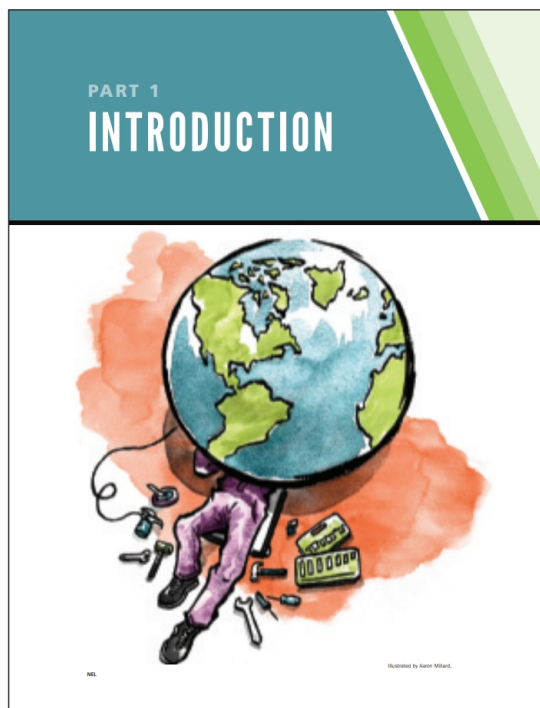
Change and conflict are the subjects of **Part 5**. Here the reader is introduced to the main forces of turbulence in our society. In **Chapter 13**, Deviance and Crime, Julian Tanner elegantly analyzes one form of social conflict: deviant and criminal behaviour. He undermines several common misconceptions in the process.

In **Chapter 14**, Health and Aging, Margaret Penning expertly discusses the aging of the Canadian population and its attendant health issues, keeping her eye steadily on the policy implications of current research.

Finally, in **Chapter 15**, Politics and Social Movements, Robert Brym surveys the evolution of politics and social movements, showing how various forms of conflict emerge, change our lives, and become institutionalized.

FEATURES OF THE NINTH EDITION

The content and organization of this text have been carefully prepared, and you will find updated visual and pedagogical features in this ninth edition of *New Society*.



NEW PART OPENERS

Students and instructors alike will appreciate the unique illustrations that enliven the cover and part openers. These illustrations were created by Aaron Millard, a graduate of OCAD University in Toronto, and were designed to engage students with the important themes in the book.

Additionally, new chapter objectives presented at the beginning of each chapter prepare students to think critically and to absorb the material.

AFTER READING THIS CHAPTER, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO

- Appreciate the degree to which social interaction unleashes human abilities, including the ability to see oneself as different from others.
- Evaluate how stages in life are influenced by the historical period in which people live.

- Contrast the declining socializing influence of the family with the rising socializing influence of schools, peer groups, and the mass media over the past century.
- Compare the greater speed, frequency, and comprehensiveness of identity change today with the lower speed, frequency, and comprehensiveness of identity change just a few decades ago.

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY FEATURES

Created to further engage students and reflect the critical approach of the text, there are 30 **Critical Sociology** features in the book, 18 of which are new to this edition. These features cover key themes such as globalization, protest and policy, and social inequality.

A set of **Critical Thinking Questions** is provided at the end of each feature, and answers/points to consider for these questions are provided on the student Companion Website at www.nelson.com/student.

Critical Sociology

BAD POLICING OR RISKY BEHAVIOUR?

The 2014 RCMP report *Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women* is disturbing reading. The report notes that between 1980 and 2012, 1181 Indigenous women were homicide victims. Making up about 4 percent of Canada's female population, they comprised 16 percent of all murdered Canadian women over that period. Moreover, the situation seems to be getting worse. In 1984, Indigenous women were 8 percent of female homicide victims, but by 2012 that figure had climbed to 23 percent (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014: 7–10). The report also showed that there were 164 missing Indigenous women, then constituting about 11 percent of all missing women in the country (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014: 8).

The causes of crime are complex, as are the reasons why some people go missing. The RCMP report identifies three "risk factors" that contribute to the high rate of victimization of Indigenous women: poor employment conditions and opportunities; the consumption of drugs, alcohol, or other intoxicants prior to the incident; and involvement in the sex trade (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2014).

The RCMP report followed on the heels of another report by the Special Parliamentary Committee on Violence against Indigenous Women. The Committee report tried to place the problem in a larger social and historical context. It argued that the "root causes" of violence against Indigenous women include the legacy of Indigenous children being removed from their families and their culture by the government and placed in church-run boarding schools; persistent poverty and poor housing conditions; and widespread racism in Canadian society (House of Commons, 2014).

Not everyone was pleased with the RCMP report because it was silent on the larger context contributing to violence against Indigenous women. Some people called the Special Committee's report a whitewash because of its timid recommendations for improving the situation; rather than demanding a national inquiry and a comprehensive national action plan, the committee merely recommended that the federal government "learn from the stories of missing and murdered Indigenous girls and work ...

to create a public awareness and prevention campaign focusing on violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada" (Special Committee on Violence Against Indigenous Women, 2014: 43).

According to Human Rights Watch (a nongovernmental agency that monitors human rights abuses around the world), one of the glaring silences in both reports concerns the role that the police may play in the victimization of Indigenous women. Human Rights Watch (2013) argues that a big part of the problem is that police do not take the issue of violence against Indigenous women seriously. To support their claim, they document cases in which Indigenous women are sexually and racially abused by the police.

In September 2016, the federal government launched a National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Its mandate is to

... look into and report on the systemic causes of all forms of violence against Indigenous women and girls, including sexual violence. We must examine the underlying social, economic, cultural, institutional, and historical causes that contribute to the ongoing violence and to particular vulnerabilities of Indigenous women and girls in Canada (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019).

The main work of the inquiry has been to cross the country gathering stories of survivors and families of victims in the hope that public education will help spark more dialogue about how to curtail the violence. One can only hope that their reports and recommendations will not gather dust on politicians' shelves.

Critical Thinking Questions

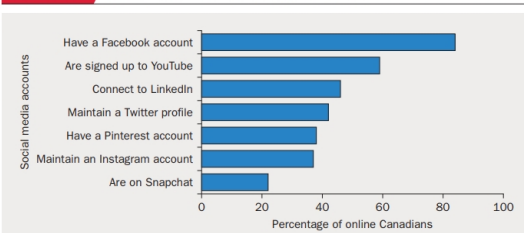
1. From an investigative point of view, do police agencies take cases of missing Indigenous women as seriously as those of non-Indigenous women?
2. What changes should police forces make to better address the issue of murdered and missing Indigenous women and young girls?

FIGURES, TABLES, AND IN-CHAPTER LEARNING AIDS

Current census data and other up-to-date research is easily compared when presented in one of over 20 tables and 50 figures integrated throughout the book to enhance student learning—30 of these figures are completely new.

Time for Review questions found at the end of important sections in each chapter balance provocative questions with factual recall.

FIGURE 6.3 Social Media Use among Online Canadian Adults



SOURCE: Anatoliy Gruzd, Jenna Jacobson, Philip Mai, Elizabeth Dubois, (2018). *The State of Social Media in Canada, 2017*. Version: 1.0. Ryerson University Social Media Lab. DOI:10.5683/SP/AL8Z6R.

TIME FOR REVIEW

1. Contrast ethnocentrism and cultural relativism. How is it possible to avoid both extremes?
2. What are the major forces that have led to cultural diversification and greater freedom to make cultural choices since World War II?
3. In what sense is Canada the first truly post-modern country?

SUMMARY

1. What is democracy and what determines the level of democracy in a society?

Democracy involves a two-way process of control between the state (the set of institutions that formulate and carry out a country's law, policies, and binding regulations) and civil society (the private sphere, consisting of social movements, political parties, the mass media, and so on). The level of democracy in a society depends on the capacity of civil society to influence the state through citizen support of social movements, political parties, and other groups. That capacity increases as

associated with the success of labour parties and policies that redistribute wealth.

4. Under what circumstances do people rebel against established authority?

Research does not support the view that social movements emerge when relative deprivation spreads. Research suggests that people are more inclined to rebel against the status quo when they are bound by close social ties to many other people who feel similarly wronged and when they have the money and other resources needed to protest.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Have you ever participated in a social movement or been actively involved in a political party? If so, explain how your political choices (which party you joined, your level of participation, the timing of your recruitment) were influenced by the sociological factors discussed in this chapter. If you have never participated in a social movement or been actively involved in a political party, explain how the sociological factors discussed in this chapter influence you to remain politically inactive.
2. How would you achieve a political goal? Map out a detailed strategy for reaching a clearly defined

- try to recruit to help you achieve your goal? Why? What collective actions do you think would be most successful? Why? To whose attention would these actions be directed? Why? Write a manifesto that frames your argument in a way that is culturally appealing to potential recruits.
3. Do you think that social movements will be more or less widespread in the twenty-first century than they were in the twentieth century? Why, or why not? What kinds of social movements are likely to predominate?
 4. Do you think that the twenty-first century will be

END-OF-CHAPTER RESOURCES

Each chapter concludes with a set of end-of-chapter resources to help students review and apply their knowledge. Our **Summary** format covers key concepts in each chapter in question-and-answer format, which helps students to see the bigger picture and interact with concepts, not just facts. A set of **Questions to Consider** encourages readers to think critically about the material and to apply what they have learned against their own values, ideas, and experiences.

A glossary of key terms and their definitions is also provided at the end of each chapter.

GLOSSARY

Authorities (p. 343) are people who occupy the command posts of legitimized power structures.

Authority (p. 343) is power that is widely viewed as legitimate.

Civil citizenship (p. 355) recognizes the right to free speech, freedom of religion, and justice before the law.

Civil society (p. 344) is the private (nonstate) sphere of social life.

Elite theory (p. 345) maintains that well-to-do people consistently have more political influence than people who are less well-to-do have and that society is therefore not as democratic as it is often portrayed.

change. It also holds that societies with widely distributed power are more democratic and more egalitarian than are societies with narrowly held power.

Relative deprivation (p. 352) is an intolerable gap between the social rewards people feel they deserve and the social rewards they expect to receive.

Resource mobilization theory (p. 352) holds that social movements crystallize and succeed in achieving their goals to the degree that they have access to scarce resources, such as money and effective communication facilities.

A **ruling class** (p. 346) is a self-conscious and cohesive group of people, led by corporate executives and owners of big business, who act to advance their

ANCILLARIES

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES



The Nelson Education Teaching Advantage (NETA) program delivers research-based instructor resources that promote student engagement and higher-order thinking to enable the success of Canadian students and educators. Visit Nelson Education's Inspired Instruction website at nelson.com/inspired to find out more about NETA.

The following instructor resources have been created for *New Society*, Ninth Edition. Access these ultimate tools for customizing lectures and presentations at nelson.com/instructor.

NETA Test Bank

The **NETA Test Bank** was written by Jaime Nikolaou of the University of Toronto. It includes over 1700 multiple-choice questions written according to NETA guidelines for effective construction and development of higher-order questions. Also included are over 300 true/false, 150 short-answer, and 150 essay questions.

NETA PowerPoint

Microsoft® **PowerPoint®** lecture slides for every chapter have been created by Darlene Balandin of Western University. There is an average of 30 slides per chapter, many featuring key figures, tables, and photographs from *New Society*. NETA principles of clear design and engaging content have been incorporated throughout, making it simple for instructors to customize the deck for their courses.

Image Library

The **Image Library** consists of digital copies of figures, short tables, and photographs used in the book. Instructors may use these images to customize the NETA PowerPoint or create their own PowerPoint presentations.

NETA Instructor's Manual

The **Instructor's Manual** to accompany *New Society* was prepared by Vicki Nygaard of Vancouver Island University. This manual contains sample lesson plans, learning objectives, suggested classroom activities, and a resource integration guide to give instructors the support they need to engage their students in the classroom.

CUSTOM PUBLISHING OPTIONS

It's your course, why compromise? Nelson Education is making it easier than ever to customize this sociology textbook to create a highly personalized and convenient course resource for your students. Learn how Custom Publishing with Nelson Education can help you teach your course, your way, by visiting nelsoncustom.com.

STUDENT ANCILLARIES

Companion Website

The **Companion Website** provides students with access to suggested answers/points to consider for the Critical Sociology features, flashcards, multiple-choice questions, and the online glossary. Visit nelson.com/student to access it today.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The ninth edition of *New Society* still bears the imprint of Heather McWhinney, Dan Brooks, Megan Mueller, Semareh Al-Hillal, Brad Lambertus, Camille Isaacs, Laura MacLeod, and Maya Castle. They shepherded the book through its first editions, helping to make *New Society* distinctive and highly successful.

For the past year, I have been privileged to work closely with publishing professionals of the highest calibre, all of whom contributed heavily to the successful completion of the ninth edition. In particular, Leanna MacLean worked diligently and with good humour on this complex project, always mindful of

the need to balance the diverse needs of instructors, students, and authors. Toni Chahley's energetic and meticulous approach to the project was evident from beginning to end. Visually and linguistically, this book owes much to her exemplary skill as a developmental editor. I would also like to thank Marc-André Brouillard (photo researcher), Jennifer Hare (senior production project manager), Sydney Pope (marketing manager), June Trusty (copy editor), Linda Szostak (proofreader), and Daniela Glass (permissions coordinator).

New Society could not have become what it is without the authors of each chapter. They are among the very best sociologists in Canada. I believe that,

although concentrating on the exposition of their own subfields, they have conveyed to the novice a real sense of the excitement and promise of sociology. I am deeply indebted to them, as scores of thousands of introductory sociology students and their instructors inevitably have been and will be.

Finally, I would like to thank the reviewers, whose insightful comments helped shape this and previous editions:

Sonia Bookman, University of Manitoba

Jan Clarke, Algoma University

Linda Cohen, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Claudio Colaguori, York University

Graham Cook, Capilano University

Lorna Doerkson, University of Saskatchewan

Stephen F. Dumas, University of Calgary

Jenny Flagler-George, University of Waterloo

Christopher Helland, Dalhousie University

Morgan Holmes, Wilfrid Laurier University

Alicia Horton, University of the Fraser Valley

Shelly Ikebuchi, Okanagan College

Kate Krug, Cape Breton University

Peter Landstreet, York University

Guy Letts, Georgian College

Timothy MacNeill, University of Toronto Institute
of Technology

Barry McClinchey, University of Waterloo

Patrick McLane, University of Alberta

Jennifer Robinson, Conestoga College

Christopher Schneider, University of British
Columbia

Alexander Shvarts, Humber College

Stephanie Skourtes, University of British Columbia

Tamy Superle, Carleton University

Eric Tompkins, College of New Caledonia

E. Wilma van der Veen, Saint Mary's University

Meng Yu, Memorial University of Newfoundland

R.B.
Toronto

PART 1

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCING SOCIOLOGY

Robert Brym UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



David Morin Music & Bombay Records (SOCAN). Every Colour © 2015 Bombay Records,
© 2015 David Morin Music. Artwork © Sangito Bigelow

AFTER READING THIS CHAPTER, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO

- Define sociology.
- Identify the social relations that surround you, permeate you, and influence your behaviour.
- Describe how sociological research seeks to test ideas and improve people's lives using scientific methods.
- Summarize the main theoretical traditions in sociology.
- Appreciate how sociology emerged out of the Scientific, Democratic, and Industrial Revolutions.
- Understand the main challenges facing society today.

INTRODUCTION

SOCIOLOGY AS A LIFE OR DEATH ISSUE

When I began university at the age of 18, I was bewildered by the wide variety of courses I could choose from. In fact, I was uncertain about why I was in university in the first place. Several high-school teachers and guidance counsellors had told me that university was supposed to “broaden my horizons” and teach me to “think critically.” But when I started studying sociology, I discovered that university could also change lives. I know that sounds boastful. The following anecdote by Karen Taylor, a Métis sociologist at a college in Edmonton, may make it seem less so.

I once chose to die. Not only did it seem like a good idea at the time, it seemed to be the only way out of an intolerable life. I’m still alive some thirty years later, so obviously that decision and the subsequent suicide attempt were not the end of the story. They might be the beginning, though.

Waking up in the hospital some time later (I don’t know how much later), I was subjected to what I thought were some very curious reactions. Some people seemed to think that my choices were about them—I did it because I hated them, or I did it to send them a message, or I did it because I wanted to punish them for something. Other people thought it was all about me and how sick I was—I did it because I was mentally unstable, or I did it because my thinking was inherently flawed and I was a danger to myself (and possibly those around me), or I did it as a cry for help. That last one made me laugh—after all, if I had thought at the time that there was help available, it would have been an entirely different story. Wouldn’t it?

Life moves on. I moved too. From growing up in a primarily Indigenous community where I did not belong, to living in a primarily white city where I did not belong, I took my inner turmoil with me. At some point, I decided to go back to school. I enrolled in some college courses, one of which was sociology—a course from which I un-enrolled pretty quickly. I most certainly did not want to study sociology, “the study of society.” I hated society. Society, I thought,

was the loud, dirty, rude crush of people in the city, people who were bewilderingly consistent at making me feel false, excluded, and less than whatever it was that they were.

So I studied psychology, thinking that it might help me understand myself and perhaps others, all those behaviours and thought processes that completely eluded my attempts to make sense out of life. The idea of death still fascinated me, though, so I looked for a course related to dying. And I found one—The Sociology of Death and Dying. “Are you kidding me!?” I thought, but I took it anyway. I am glad I did. I found out that sociology is not (or at least, not just) about studying loud, dirty cities; it is about living (and sometimes dying). *Society* is just a term for how it is that we construct our lives together; studying society helps us know what we are and what we can become. Nothing to be afraid of here, as long as you are willing to learn something new about yourself.

And learn things, I did. I learned that there is an explanation for the confusion I felt about who I was and who I was not—and in learning that, I learned that I was not alone in the world. Lots of bicultural people experience it. This meant that I was not a lone freak—I might have felt like a freak, but I was not alone. More than that, I learned a language to describe my life experiences and I learned to look at those experiences from different perspectives. I also learned that my views on death and my suicide attempt weren’t just about me and my pathology; they were about me and other factors in my life: my background, my relationships, my socioeconomic status, my gender, and more. My studies brought me to a place where I can say out loud and without shame: I am Métis, I belong here.

Karen’s study of sociology changed her life by clarifying her place in society, how she might best manoeuvre through it, even how she could contribute to improving it. We may not always feel comfortable with our life, but we can use our sociological imagination to understand why we sometimes feel out of place and what we might be able to do about it, alone and with others.

Before attending university, Karen took for granted that things happen in the world—and to each of us individually—because psychological and physical

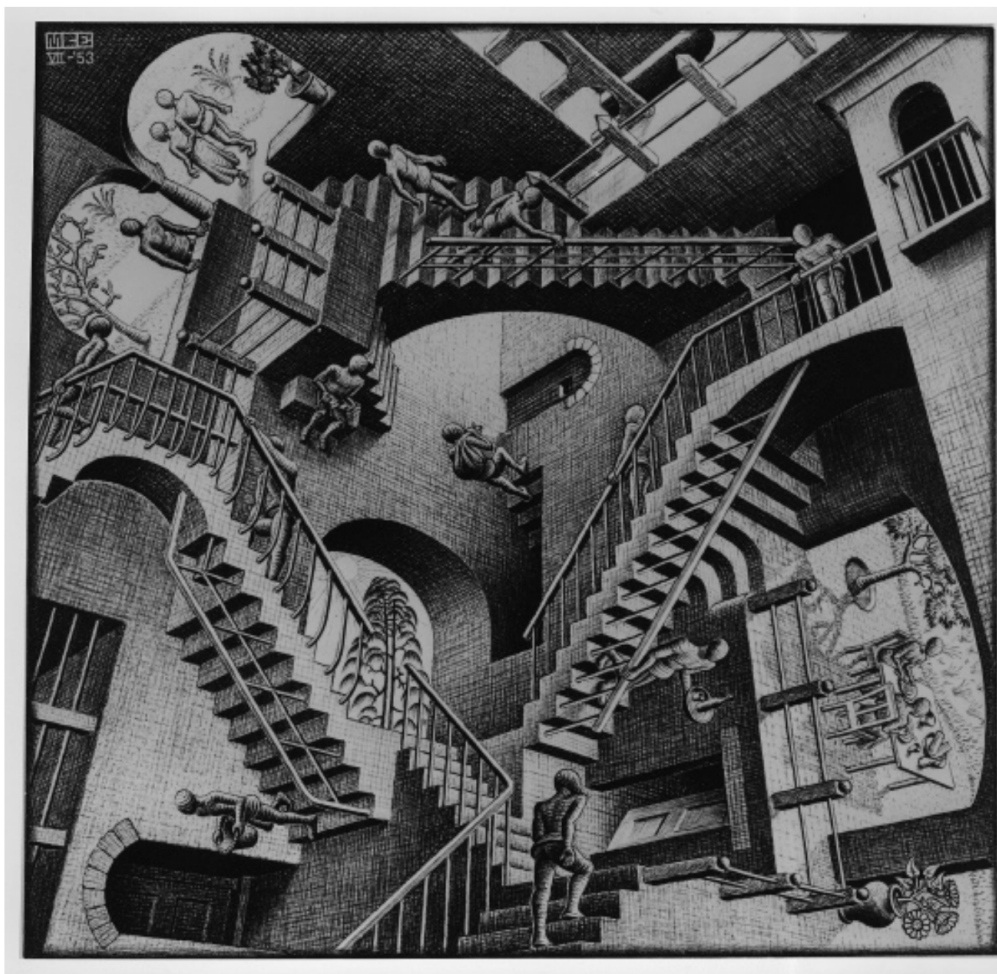
forces cause them. She might have thought that famine is caused by drought, war by territorial greed, economic success by hard work, marriage by love, suicide by bottomless depression, rape by depraved lust. However, sociology would have thrown evidence in her face that contradicted those easy formulas. If drought causes famine, why have so many famines occurred in perfectly normal weather conditions or involved some groups hoarding or destroying food so that others would starve? If hard work causes prosperity, why are so many hard workers poor? If love causes marriage, why are so many families the site of violence against women and children? If depression causes suicide, why is it that some people can overcome their despair?

The answer is that drought, war, economic success, love, depression, rape, and much else occur in social contexts. Understanding social contexts can help clarify

otherwise inexplicable features of famine, marriage, and so on. In public school, you were likely taught that people are free to do what they want with their lives. However, **sociology**—the systematic study of human behaviour in social context—teaches that the organization of the social world opens some doors of opportunity and closes others, thus constraining our freedom and helping to make us what we are. By examining the operation of these powerful social forces, sociology can help us to know ourselves, our capabilities, and our limitations. Once Karen learned this liberating fact, she was hooked. And so, of course, I hope you will be, too.

THE GOALS OF THIS CHAPTER

In this chapter, I want to show how sociology is relevant to you. First, I illustrate the power of sociology to dispel



Life is finite, and if we want to make the most of it, we must figure out how best to live. Sociology offers a useful perspective for understanding our current predicament and seeing possible ways of dealing with it.

SOURCE: M.C. Escher's "Relativity" © 2019 The M.C. Escher Company-The Netherlands. All rights reserved. www.mcescher.com

foggy assumptions and help us see the operation of the social world more clearly. To that end, I examine a phenomenon that at first glance appears to be solely the outcome of breakdowns in individual functioning: suicide. You will see that, in fact, *social relations* powerfully influence suicide rates. This exercise introduces you to what is unique about the sociological perspective.

Second, I show that, from its origins, sociological research has been motivated by a desire to improve the social world. So sociology is not just a dry, academic exercise but a means of charting a better course for society. At the same time, however, sociologists adopt scientific methods to test their ideas, thus increasing the validity of their research. I illustrate these points by briefly analyzing the work of the founders of the discipline.

Third, I suggest that sociology can help you come to grips with your century, just as it helped the founders of sociology deal with theirs. Today we are witnessing massive and disorienting social changes. Entire countries are breaking up. Women are demanding equality with men in all spheres of life. Some people are undergoing a religious revival while others are abandoning belief in God. People's wants are increasingly governed by the mass media. Computers are radically altering the way people work and entertain themselves. There are proportionately fewer good jobs to go around. Environmental ruin threatens us all. As was the case a century or more

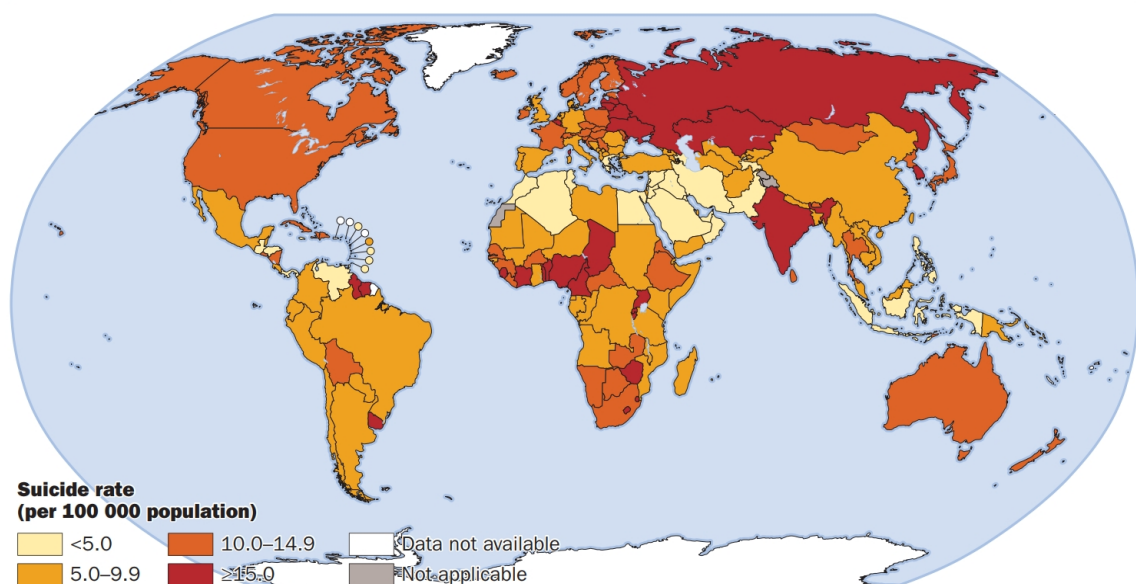
ago, sociologists today try to understand social phenomena and suggest credible ways of improving their societies. By promising to make sociology relevant to you, this chapter should be viewed as an open invitation to participate in sociology's challenge.

But first things first. Before showing how sociology can help you better understand and improve the world, let us briefly examine the problem of suicide. This examination will help to illustrate how the sociological perspective can clarify and sometimes overturn commonsense beliefs.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Analyzing suicide sociologically tests the claim that sociology takes a unique, surprising, and enlightening perspective on social events. After all, suicide appears to be an antisocial and nonsocial act. First, it is viewed negatively by nearly everyone in society. Second, it is typically committed in private, far from the public's intrusive glare. Third, it obliterates society, at least for the person committing suicide. Fourth, it is comparatively rare: In 2014, the most recent year for which data are available, there were about 11 suicides for every 100 000 people in Canada (compared with the world average of about 16 suicides per 100 000 people; Statistics Canada, 2016; see Figure 1.1). And,

FIGURE 1.1 Suicide Rate by Country



SOURCE: Reproduced, with the permission of the publisher, from "Age-standardized suicide rates (per 100,000 population) both sexes, 2016," World Health Organization, 2018, at http://www.who.int/mental_health/suicide-prevention/Global_AS_suicide_rates_bothsexes_2016.png?ua=1 (retrieved 15 October 2018).

finally, when you think about why a person commits suicide, you are likely to focus on his or her state of mind rather than on the state of society. That is, we are usually interested in the events that cause individuals to become depressed or angry enough to do something as awful as killing themselves. We do not usually think about the patterns of social relations that might encourage or inhibit such actions. If sociology can reveal the hidden social causes of such an apparently nonsocial and antisocial phenomenon, there must be something to it!

THE SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF SUICIDE

At the end of the nineteenth century, French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1951 [1897]), one of the pioneers of the discipline, demonstrated that suicide is more than just an individual act of desperation resulting from psychological disorder, as was commonly believed at the time. He showed that the suicide rate (the number of suicides per 100 000 population) is strongly influenced by social forces.

Durkheim made his case by first examining the association between rates of suicide and rates of psychological disorder for different groups. The idea that psychological disorder causes suicide is supported, he reasoned, only if suicide rates tend to be high where rates of psychological disorder are high, and low where rates of psychological disorder are low. However, his analysis of European government statistics, hospital records, and other sources revealed nothing of the kind. He discovered there were slightly more women than men in insane asylums. Yet there were four male suicides for every female suicide. Jews had the highest rate of psychological disorder among the major religious groups in France. However, they also had the lowest suicide rate. Psychological disorders occurred most frequently when a person reached maturity. Suicide rates, though, increased steadily with age.

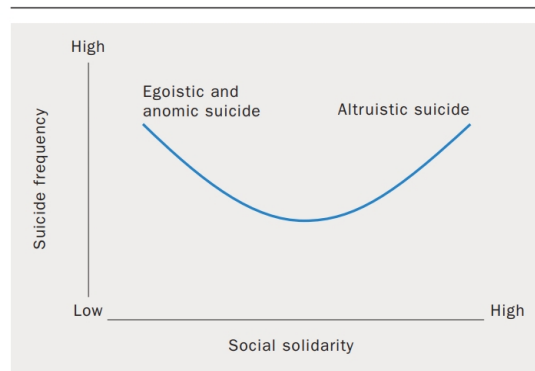
Clearly, suicide rates and rates of psychological disorder did not vary together. What then accounts for variations in suicide rates? Durkheim argued that suicide rates vary because of differences in the degree of **social solidarity** in different groups. According to Durkheim, the more a group's members share beliefs and values, and the more frequently and intensely the members interact, the more social solidarity a group exhibits. In turn, the more social solidarity a group exhibits, the

more firmly anchored individuals are to the social world, and the less likely they are to take their own lives if adversity strikes. In other words, Durkheim expected groups with a high degree of solidarity to have lower suicide rates than do groups with a low degree of solidarity—at least up to a certain point (see Figure 1.2).

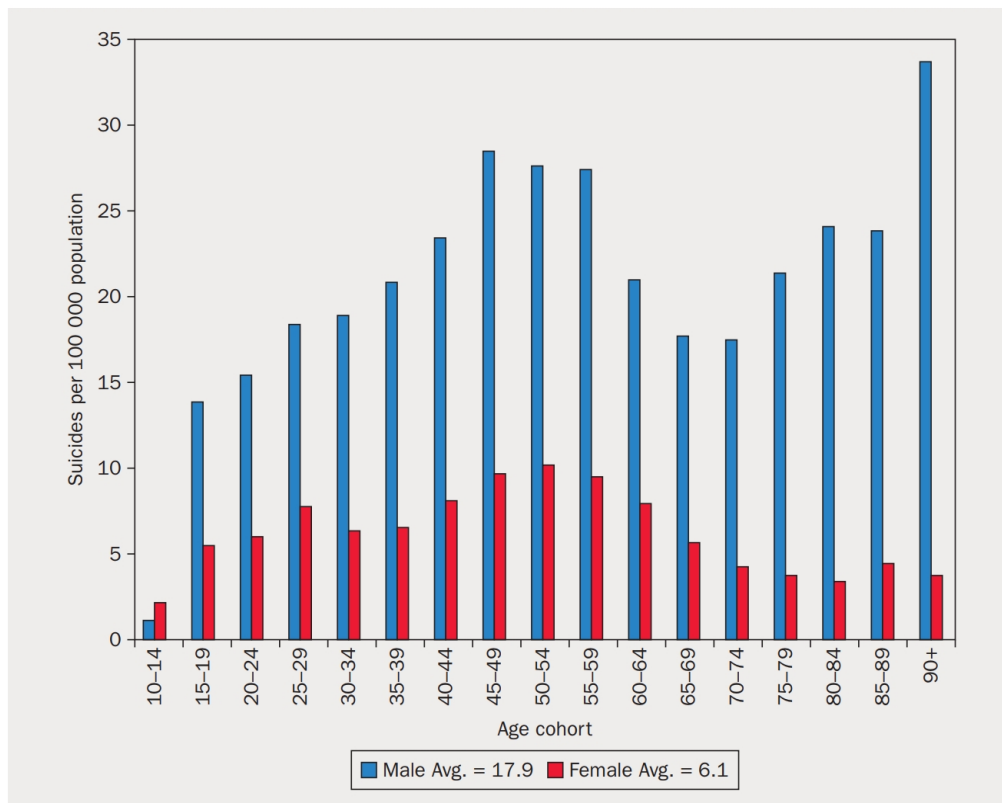
In general, Durkheim wrote, “suicide varies with the degree of integration of the social groups of which the individual forms part” (Durkheim, 1951 [1897]: 209). Note that his generalization tells us nothing about why any particular *individual* may take his or her life. That is a question for psychology. But it does tell us that a person's likelihood of committing suicide decreases with the degree to which he or she is anchored in society. And it says something surprising and uniquely sociological about how and why the suicide rate varies from group to group, even today (see Figure 1.3).

To support his argument, Durkheim showed that married adults are half as likely as unmarried adults to commit suicide. That is because marriage usually creates social ties and a sort of moral cement that bind the individual to society. Similarly, he argued that women are less likely to commit suicide than are men.

FIGURE 1.2 Durkheim's Theory of Suicide



Durkheim's theory of suicide states that the suicide rate declines and then rises as social solidarity increases. Suicide in low-solidarity settings may be egoistic or anomic. **Egoistic suicide** results from the poor integration of people into society because of weak social ties to others. Someone who is unemployed and unmarried is thus more likely to commit suicide than is someone who is employed and married. **Anomic suicide** occurs when vague norms govern behaviour. The rate of anomic suicide is likely to be high among people living in a society that lacks a widely shared code of morality. Durkheim called suicides that occur in high-solidarity settings altruistic. **Altruistic suicide** occurs when norms tightly govern behaviour. Soldiers who knowingly give up their lives to protect comrades commit altruistic suicide out of a deep sense of patriotism and comradeship.

FIGURE 1.3 Suicide by Age and Sex, Canada, 2014

The most recent data on suicide by age and sex in Canada indicate that men are about three times more likely than women to take their own lives, as was the case in Durkheim's France. However, the suicide rate does not increase steadily with age; the suicide rate among teenagers, young adults, and middle-aged people is much higher than it was in Durkheim's France. In fact, the suicide rate among women declines for women over the age of 54, contrary to what Durkheim found.

Be a sociologist: Outline your own explanation for these differences between late nineteenth-century France and early twenty-first-century Canada.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada. (2018). "Leading causes of death, total population, by age group (both sexes)" at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/101/cst01/hlth36a-eng.htm> (retrieved 17 February 2018).

Why? Women are generally more involved in the intimate social relations of family life. Jews, Durkheim wrote, are less likely to commit suicide than Christians are. The reason? Centuries of persecution have turned them into a group that is more defensive and tightly knit. And seniors are more prone than the young and the middle-aged are to take their own lives in the face of misfortune. That is because they are most likely to live alone, to have lost a spouse, and to lack a job and a wide network of friends.

FROM PERSONAL TROUBLES TO SOCIAL STRUCTURES

You have known for a long time that you live in a society. Yet until now, you may not have fully appreciated that

society also lives in you. That is, patterns of social relations affect your innermost thoughts and feelings, influence your actions, and thus help shape who you are. As we have seen, one such pattern of social relations is the level of social solidarity that characterizes the various groups to which you belong.

Sociologists call relatively stable patterns of social relations **social structures**. One of the sociologist's main tasks is to identify and explain the connection between people's personal troubles and the social structures in which people are embedded. This work is harder than it may at first seem. In everyday life, we usually see things mainly from our own point of view. Our experiences appear unique to each of us. If we think about them at all, social structures may appear remote and impersonal. To see how social

structures operate inside us, we need to broaden our sociological awareness.

An important step in broadening our sociological awareness involves recognizing that four levels of social structure surround and penetrate us: microstructures, mesostructures, macrostructures, and global structures. Think of these structures as concentric circles radiating out from you.

Microstructures are patterns of intimate social relations. They are formed during face-to-face interaction. Families, friendship circles, and work associations are all examples of microstructures. Understanding the operation of microstructures can be useful. Let's say you are looking for a job. You might think you would do best to ask as many close friends and relatives as possible for leads and contacts. However, sociological research shows that people you know well are likely to know many of the same people. After asking a couple of close connections for help landing a job, therefore, you should ask more remote acquaintances for leads and contacts. People to whom you are weakly connected (and who are weakly connected among themselves) are more likely to know *different* groups of people. Therefore, they will give you more information about job possibilities and ensure that word about your job search spreads farther. You are more likely to find a job faster if you understand "the strength of weak ties" in microstructural settings (Granovetter, 1973).

Mesostructures are patterns of social relations formed in organizations whose members are often not intimately acquainted and who often do not interact face to face. Social organizations such as colleges, bureaucracies, and political parties are examples of mesostructures. Understanding the operation of macrostructures can also be useful. Take political parties in democracies like Canada. People often assume that, in democracies, political parties are "open" in the sense that just about any citizen can join them, and talented members can rise to leadership position within them. However, sociologists have shown otherwise. Most people lack the time, money, education, and connections with the "right" crowd that are needed to rise to the top. As a result, political parties are considerably less democratic than we are often led to believe. Consequently, people who want to become politically influential but lack resources like money and connections must often create organized protest movements that engage in demonstrations, sit-ins, publicity stunts, and so on, to achieve their aim (Lipsky, 1968; Michels, 1962 [1911]).

Macrostructures are patterns of social relations that lie outside and above your circle of intimates and acquaintances and the social organizations you may interact with. They are aspects of whole societies. Macrostructures include class relations and **patriarchy**, the traditional system of economic and political inequality between women and men in most societies.

To understand how macrostructures influence us, consider one aspect of patriarchy. Most married women who work full-time in the paid labour force do more housework, child care, and elder care than their husbands do. Most governments and businesses support this arrangement by providing little assistance to families in the form of affordable, accessible, and high-quality nurseries, after-school programs for children, seniors' support systems, and so on. Yet the unequal division of work in the household is a major source of marital dissatisfaction, especially in families that cannot afford to pay for these services privately. Sociological research shows that when spouses share domestic responsibilities equally, they are happier with their marriages and less likely to divorce (Hochschild and Machung, 1989).

When a marriage is in danger of dissolving, it is common for partners to blame themselves and each other for their troubles. However, it should now be clear that patriarchal forces that have little to do with people's personalities often put stresses on families. Understanding how the macrostructure of patriarchy crops up in everyday life, and doing something to change that structure, can help people enjoy happier marriages.

The fourth level of society that surrounds and permeates us comprises **global structures**. International organizations, patterns of worldwide travel and communication, and the economic relations between countries are examples of global structures. Global structures are increasingly important as inexpensive travel and communication allow all parts of the world to become interconnected culturally, economically, and politically.

Understanding the operation of global structures can be useful, too. For instance, many people are concerned about the world's poor. They donate money to charities to help with famine and disaster relief, and they approve of the Canadian government giving foreign aid to poor countries. However, many of these same people do not appreciate that charity and foreign aid alone cannot end world poverty because they cannot overcome the structure of social

relations among countries that have created and sustain global inequality.

Britain, France, and other imperial powers locked some countries into poverty when they colonized them between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In the twentieth century, the poor (or “developing”) countries borrowed money from these same rich countries and Western banks to pay for airports, roads, harbours, sanitation systems, basic healthcare, and so on. Today, poor countries pay far more to rich countries and Western banks in interest on those loans than they receive in aid and charity. Foreign aid equals only about one-tenth of interest payments that poor countries pay to rich countries and Western banks (Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2010: 6; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008: 6). So it seems that foreign aid and charity can do little to help solve the problem of world poverty. Understanding how the global structure of international relations created and helps maintain global inequality suggests new policy priorities for helping the world’s poor. One such priority involves campaigning for the cancellation of foreign debt in compensation for past injustices due to colonization.

As these examples illustrate, personal problems are connected to social structures at the micro-level, meso-level, macro-level, and global level. Whether the personal problem involves finding a job, gaining influence in a political party, keeping a marriage intact, or figuring out a way to end world poverty, social-structural considerations broaden our understanding of the problem and suggest appropriate courses of action.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

In the 1950s, the great American sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) called the ability to see the connection between personal troubles and social structures the **sociological imagination**. He emphasized the difficulty of developing this quality of mind. His language is sexist by today’s standards, but his argument is as true and inspiring today as it was in the 1950s:

When a society becomes industrialized, a peasant becomes a worker; a feudal lord is liquidated or becomes a businessman. When classes rise or fall, a man is employed or unemployed; when the rate of investment goes up or down, a man takes new heart or goes broke. When war happens, an insurance salesman becomes a rocket launcher; a

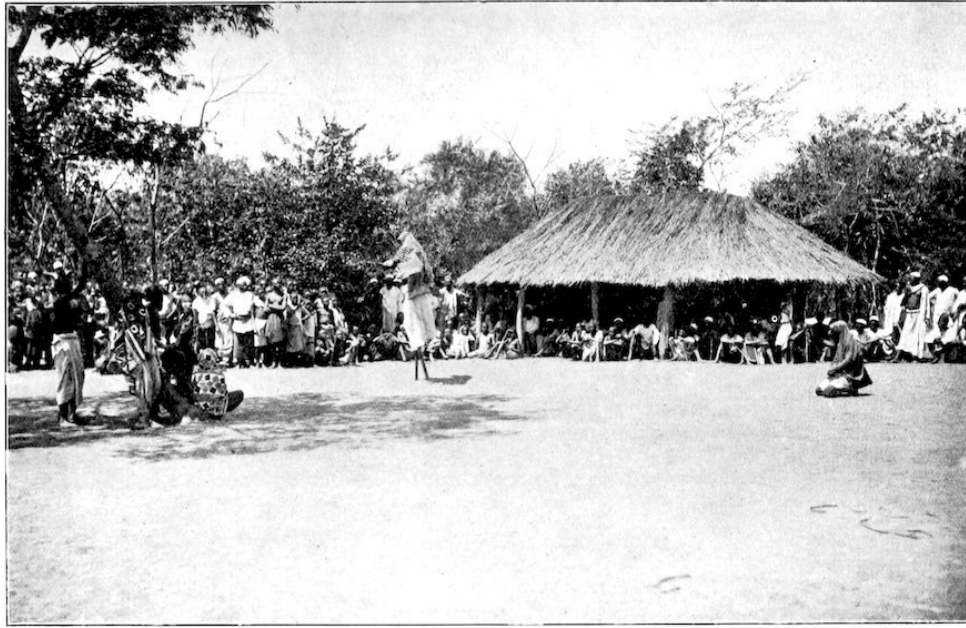
store clerk, a radar man; a wife lives alone; a child grows up without a father. Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both.

Yet men do not usually define the troubles they endure in terms of historical change. . . . The well-being they enjoy, they do not usually impute to the big ups and downs of the society in which they live. Seldom aware of the intricate connection between the patterns of their own lives and the course of world history, ordinary men do not usually know what this connection means for the kind of men they are becoming and for the kind of history-making in which they might take part. They do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of men and society, of biography and history, of self and world. They cannot cope with their personal troubles in such a way as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them.

What they need . . . is a quality of mind that will help them to [see] . . . what is going on in the world and . . . what may be happening within themselves. It is this quality . . . that . . . may be called the sociological imagination. (C. Wright Mills, 1959: 3–4)

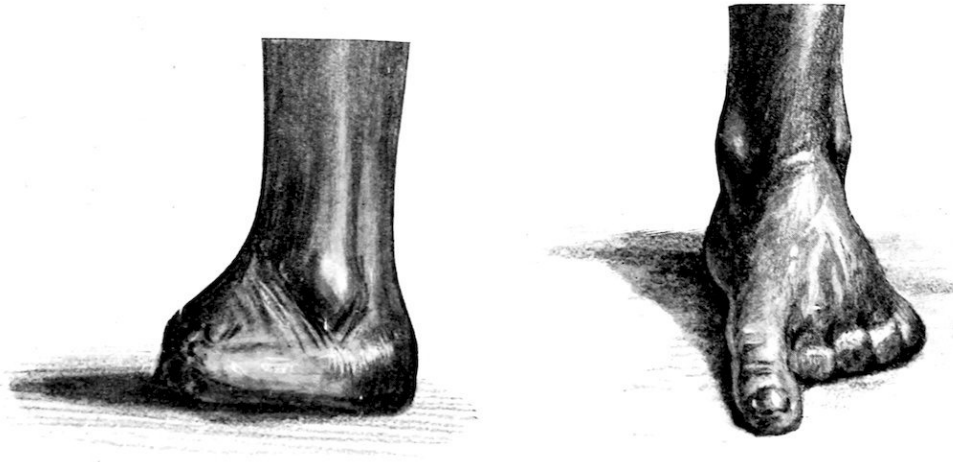
To gain a better sense of what Mills meant by the sociological imagination, consider a story that has been repeated, with variations, many times. A 50-year-old woman loses a good job on the assembly line of a southern Ontario car plant when production moves to Mexico. After half a year of collecting employment insurance, she manages to land a job at the checkout counter of a local Walmart. She earns less than half her previous salary. She had hoped to help her son pay tuition when he started college but can no longer afford that because her income is now barely enough to pay for food, rent, and utilities. Her son is a good student but he now has to delay his plan to go to college for at least a couple years while he earns tuition money. The woman blames herself for not being able to land a better job. She becomes depressed. To cope, she starts smoking and drinking more—and taking high-interest payday loans to feed her habits. The son’s resentment and anger toward his mother grow, so they argue a lot. Family life, once happy, becomes miserable.

Another random document with
no related content on Scribd:



DANCE ON STILTS AT THE GIRLS' UNYAGO, NIUCHI

Newala, too, suffers from the distance of its water-supply—at least the Newala of to-day does; there was once another Newala in a lovely valley at the foot of the plateau. I visited it and found scarcely a trace of houses, only a Christian cemetery, with the graves of several missionaries and their converts, remaining as a monument of its former glories. But the surroundings are wonderfully beautiful. A thick grove of splendid mango-trees closes in the weather-worn crosses and headstones; behind them, combining the useful and the agreeable, is a whole plantation of lemon-trees covered with ripe fruit; not the small African kind, but a much larger and also juicier imported variety, which drops into the hands of the passing traveller, without calling for any exertion on his part. Old Newala is now under the jurisdiction of the native pastor, Daudi, at Chingulungulu, who, as I am on very friendly terms with him, allows me, as a matter of course, the use of this lemon-grove during my stay at Newala.



FEET MUTILATED BY THE RAVAGES OF THE "JIGGER"
(*Sarcopsylla penetrans*)

The water-supply of New Newala is in the bottom of the valley, some 1,600 feet lower down. The way is not only long and fatiguing, but the water, when we get it, is thoroughly bad. We are suffering not only from this, but from the fact that the arrangements at Newala are nothing short of luxurious. We have a separate kitchen—a hut built against the *boma* palisade on the right of the *baraza*, the interior of which is not visible from our usual position. Our two cooks were not long in finding this out, and they consequently do—or rather neglect to do—what they please. In any case they do not seem to be very particular about the boiling of our drinking-water—at least I can attribute to no other cause certain attacks of a dysenteric nature, from which both Knudsen and I have suffered for some time. If a man like Omari has to be left unwatched for a moment, he is capable of anything. Besides this complaint, we are inconvenienced by the state of our nails, which have become as hard as glass, and crack on the slightest provocation, and I have the additional infliction of pimples all over me. As if all this were not enough, we have also, for the last week been waging war against the jigger, who has found his Eldorado in the hot sand of the Makonde plateau. Our men are seen all day long—whenever their chronic colds and the dysentery likewise raging among them permit—occupied in removing this scourge of Africa from their feet and trying to prevent the disastrous consequences of its presence. It is quite common to see natives of this place with one or two toes missing; many have lost all their toes,

or even the whole front part of the foot, so that a well-formed leg ends in a shapeless stump. These ravages are caused by the female of *Sarcopsylla penetrans*, which bores its way under the skin and there develops an egg-sac the size of a pea. In all books on the subject, it is stated that one's attention is called to the presence of this parasite by an intolerable itching. This agrees very well with my experience, so far as the softer parts of the sole, the spaces between and under the toes, and the side of the foot are concerned, but if the creature penetrates through the harder parts of the heel or ball of the foot, it may escape even the most careful search till it has reached maturity. Then there is no time to be lost, if the horrible ulceration, of which we see cases by the dozen every day, is to be prevented. It is much easier, by the way, to discover the insect on the white skin of a European than on that of a native, on which the dark speck scarcely shows. The four or five jiggers which, in spite of the fact that I constantly wore high laced boots, chose my feet to settle in, were taken out for me by the all-accomplished Knudsen, after which I thought it advisable to wash out the cavities with corrosive sublimate. The natives have a different sort of disinfectant—they fill the hole with scraped roots. In a tiny Makua village on the slope of the plateau south of Newala, we saw an old woman who had filled all the spaces under her toe-nails with powdered roots by way of prophylactic treatment. What will be the result, if any, who can say?

The rest of the many trifling ills which trouble our existence are really more comic than serious. In the absence of anything else to smoke, Knudsen and I at last opened a box of cigars procured from the Indian store-keeper at Lindi, and tried them, with the most distressing results. Whether they contain opium or some other narcotic, neither of us can say, but after the tenth puff we were both “off,” three-quarters stupefied and unspeakably wretched. Slowly we recovered—and what happened next? Half-an-hour later we were once more smoking these poisonous concoctions—so insatiable is the craving for tobacco in the tropics.

Even my present attacks of fever scarcely deserve to be taken seriously. I have had no less than three here at Newala, all of which have run their course in an incredibly short time. In the early afternoon, I am busy with my old natives, asking questions and making notes. The strong midday coffee has stimulated my spirits to

an extraordinary degree, the brain is active and vigorous, and work progresses rapidly, while a pleasant warmth pervades the whole body. Suddenly this gives place to a violent chill, forcing me to put on my overcoat, though it is only half-past three and the afternoon sun is at its hottest. Now the brain no longer works with such acuteness and logical precision; more especially does it fail me in trying to establish the syntax of the difficult Makua language on which I have ventured, as if I had not enough to do without it. Under the circumstances it seems advisable to take my temperature, and I do so, to save trouble, without leaving my seat, and while going on with my work. On examination, I find it to be 101.48° . My tutors are abruptly dismissed and my bed set up in the *baraza*; a few minutes later I am in it and treating myself internally with hot water and lemon-juice.

Three hours later, the thermometer marks nearly 104° , and I make them carry me back into the tent, bed and all, as I am now perspiring heavily, and exposure to the cold wind just beginning to blow might mean a fatal chill. I lie still for a little while, and then find, to my great relief, that the temperature is not rising, but rather falling. This is about 7.30 p.m. At 8 p.m. I find, to my unbounded astonishment, that it has fallen below 98.6° , and I feel perfectly well. I read for an hour or two, and could very well enjoy a smoke, if I had the wherewithal—Indian cigars being out of the question.

Having no medical training, I am at a loss to account for this state of things. It is impossible that these transitory attacks of high fever should be malarial; it seems more probable that they are due to a kind of sunstroke. On consulting my note-book, I become more and more inclined to think this is the case, for these attacks regularly follow extreme fatigue and long exposure to strong sunshine. They at least have the advantage of being only short interruptions to my work, as on the following morning I am always quite fresh and fit. My treasure of a cook is suffering from an enormous hydrocele which makes it difficult for him to get up, and Moritz is obliged to keep in the dark on account of his inflamed eyes. Knudsen's cook, a raw boy from somewhere in the bush, knows still less of cooking than Omari; consequently Nils Knudsen himself has been promoted to the vacant post. Finding that we had come to the end of our supplies, he began by sending to Chingulungulu for the four sucking-pigs which we had

bought from Matola and temporarily left in his charge; and when they came up, neatly packed in a large crate, he callously slaughtered the biggest of them. The first joint we were thoughtless enough to entrust for roasting to Knudsen's *mshenzi* cook, and it was consequently uneatable; but we made the rest of the animal into a jelly which we ate with great relish after weeks of underfeeding, consuming incredible helpings of it at both midday and evening meals. The only drawback is a certain want of variety in the tinned vegetables. Dr. Jäger, to whom the Geographical Commission entrusted the provisioning of the expeditions—mine as well as his own—because he had more time on his hands than the rest of us, seems to have laid in a huge stock of Teltow turnips,^[46] an article of food which is all very well for occasional use, but which quickly palls when set before one every day; and we seem to have no other tins left. There is no help for it—we must put up with the turnips; but I am certain that, once I am home again, I shall not touch them for ten years to come.

Amid all these minor evils, which, after all, go to make up the genuine flavour of Africa, there is at least one cheering touch: Knudsen has, with the dexterity of a skilled mechanic, repaired my 9 × 12 cm. camera, at least so far that I can use it with a little care. How, in the absence of finger-nails, he was able to accomplish such a ticklish piece of work, having no tool but a clumsy screw-driver for taking to pieces and putting together again the complicated mechanism of the instantaneous shutter, is still a mystery to me; but he did it successfully. The loss of his finger-nails shows him in a light contrasting curiously enough with the intelligence evinced by the above operation; though, after all, it is scarcely surprising after his ten years' residence in the bush. One day, at Lindi, he had occasion to wash a dog, which must have been in need of very thorough cleansing, for the bottle handed to our friend for the purpose had an extremely strong smell. Having performed his task in the most conscientious manner, he perceived with some surprise that the dog did not appear much the better for it, and was further surprised by finding his own nails ulcerating away in the course of the next few days. "How was I to know that carbolic acid has to be diluted?" he mutters indignantly, from time to time, with a troubled gaze at his mutilated finger-tips.

Since we came to Newala we have been making excursions in all directions through the surrounding country, in accordance with old habit, and also because the *akida* Sefu did not get together the tribal elders from whom I wanted information so speedily as he had promised. There is, however, no harm done, as, even if seen only from the outside, the country and people are interesting enough.

The Makonde plateau is like a large rectangular table rounded off at the corners. Measured from the Indian Ocean to Newala, it is about seventy-five miles long, and between the Rovuma and the Lukuledi it averages fifty miles in breadth, so that its superficial area is about two-thirds of that of the kingdom of Saxony. The surface, however, is not level, but uniformly inclined from its south-western edge to the ocean. From the upper edge, on which Newala lies, the eye ranges for many miles east and north-east, without encountering any obstacle, over the Makonde bush. It is a green sea, from which here and there thick clouds of smoke rise, to show that it, too, is inhabited by men who carry on their tillage like so many other primitive peoples, by cutting down and burning the bush, and manuring with the ashes. Even in the radiant light of a tropical day such a fire is a grand sight.

Much less effective is the impression produced just now by the great western plain as seen from the edge of the plateau. As often as time permits, I stroll along this edge, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, in the hope of finding the air clear enough to let me enjoy the view; but I have always been disappointed. Wherever one looks, clouds of smoke rise from the burning bush, and the air is full of smoke and vapour. It is a pity, for under more favourable circumstances the panorama of the whole country up to the distant Majeje hills must be truly magnificent. It is of little use taking photographs now, and an outline sketch gives a very poor idea of the scenery. In one of these excursions I went out of my way to make a personal attempt on the Makonde bush. The present edge of the plateau is the result of a far-reaching process of destruction through erosion and denudation. The Makonde strata are everywhere cut into by ravines, which, though short, are hundreds of yards in depth. In consequence of the loose stratification of these beds, not only are the walls of these ravines nearly vertical, but their upper end is closed by an equally steep escarpment, so that the

western edge of the Makonde plateau is hemmed in by a series of deep, basin-like valleys. In order to get from one side of such a ravine to the other, I cut my way through the bush with a dozen of my men. It was a very open part, with more grass than scrub, but even so the short stretch of less than two hundred yards was very hard work; at the end of it the men's calicoes were in rags and they themselves bleeding from hundreds of scratches, while even our strong khaki suits had not escaped scatheless.



NATIVE PATH THROUGH THE MAKONDE BUSH, NEAR
MAHUTA

I see increasing reason to believe that the view formed some time back as to the origin of the Makonde bush is the correct one. I have no doubt that it is not a natural product, but the result of human occupation. Those parts of the high country where man—as a very slight amount of practice enables the eye to perceive at once—has not yet penetrated with axe and hoe, are still occupied by a splendid timber forest quite able to sustain a comparison with our mixed forests in Germany. But wherever man has once built his hut or tilled his field, this horrible bush springs up. Every phase of this process

may be seen in the course of a couple of hours' walk along the main road. From the bush to right or left, one hears the sound of the axe—not from one spot only, but from several directions at once. A few steps further on, we can see what is taking place. The brush has been cut down and piled up in heaps to the height of a yard or more, between which the trunks of the large trees stand up like the last pillars of a magnificent ruined building. These, too, present a melancholy spectacle: the destructive Makonde have ringed them—cut a broad strip of bark all round to ensure their dying off—and also piled up pyramids of brush round them. Father and son, mother and son-in-law, are chopping away perseveringly in the background—too busy, almost, to look round at the white stranger, who usually excites so much interest. If you pass by the same place a week later, the piles of brushwood have disappeared and a thick layer of ashes has taken the place of the green forest. The large trees stretch their smouldering trunks and branches in dumb accusation to heaven—if they have not already fallen and been more or less reduced to ashes, perhaps only showing as a white stripe on the dark ground.

This work of destruction is carried out by the Makonde alike on the virgin forest and on the bush which has sprung up on sites already cultivated and deserted. In the second case they are saved the trouble of burning the large trees, these being entirely absent in the secondary bush.

After burning this piece of forest ground and loosening it with the hoe, the native sows his corn and plants his vegetables. All over the country, he goes in for bed-culture, which requires, and, in fact, receives, the most careful attention. Weeds are nowhere tolerated in the south of German East Africa. The crops may fail on the plains, where droughts are frequent, but never on the plateau with its abundant rains and heavy dews. Its fortunate inhabitants even have the satisfaction of seeing the proud Wayao and Wamakua working for them as labourers, driven by hunger to serve where they were accustomed to rule.

But the light, sandy soil is soon exhausted, and would yield no harvest the second year if cultivated twice running. This fact has been familiar to the native for ages; consequently he provides in time, and, while his crop is growing, prepares the next plot with axe and firebrand. Next year he plants this with his various crops and

lets the first piece lie fallow. For a short time it remains waste and desolate; then nature steps in to repair the destruction wrought by man; a thousand new growths spring out of the exhausted soil, and even the old stumps put forth fresh shoots. Next year the new growth is up to one's knees, and in a few years more it is that terrible, impenetrable bush, which maintains its position till the black occupier of the land has made the round of all the available sites and come back to his starting point.

The Makonde are, body and soul, so to speak, one with this bush. According to my Yao informants, indeed, their name means nothing else but "bush people." Their own tradition says that they have been settled up here for a very long time, but to my surprise they laid great stress on an original immigration. Their old homes were in the south-east, near Mikindani and the mouth of the Rovuma, whence their peaceful forefathers were driven by the continual raids of the Sakalavas from Madagascar and the warlike Shirazis^[47] of the coast, to take refuge on the almost inaccessible plateau. I have studied African ethnology for twenty years, but the fact that changes of population in this apparently quiet and peaceable corner of the earth could have been occasioned by outside enterprises taking place on the high seas, was completely new to me. It is, no doubt, however, correct.

The charming tribal legend of the Makonde—besides informing us of other interesting matters—explains why they have to live in the thickest of the bush and a long way from the edge of the plateau, instead of making their permanent homes beside the purling brooks and springs of the low country.

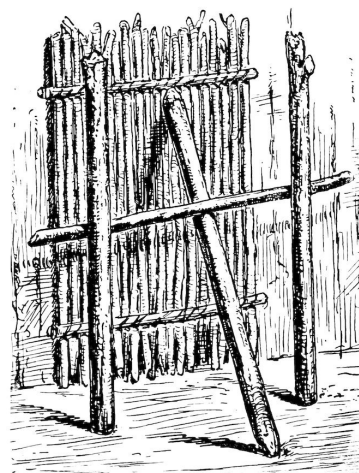
"The place where the tribe originated is Mahuta, on the southern side of the plateau towards the Rovuma, where of old time there was nothing but thick bush. Out of this bush came a man who never washed himself or shaved his head, and who ate and drank but little. He went out and made a human figure from the wood of a tree growing in the open country, which he took home to his abode in the bush and there set it upright. In the night this image came to life and was a woman. The man and woman went down together to the Rovuma to wash themselves. Here the woman gave birth to a still-born child. They left that place and passed over the high land into the valley of the Mbemkuru, where the woman had another child, which

was also born dead. Then they returned to the high bush country of Mahuta, where the third child was born, which lived and grew up. In course of time, the couple had many more children, and called themselves Wamatanda. These were the ancestral stock of the Makonde, also called Wamakonde,^[48] i.e., aborigines. Their forefather, the man from the bush, gave his children the command to bury their dead upright, in memory of the mother of their race who was cut out of wood and awoke to life when standing upright. He also warned them against settling in the valleys and near large streams, for sickness and death dwelt there. They were to make it a rule to have their huts at least an hour's walk from the nearest watering-place; then their children would thrive and escape illness."

The explanation of the name Makonde given by my informants is somewhat different from that contained in the above legend, which I extract from a little book (small, but packed with information), by Pater Adams, entitled *Lindi und sein Hinterland*. Otherwise, my results agree exactly with the statements of the legend. Washing? *Hapana*—there is no such thing. Why should they do so? As it is, the supply of water scarcely suffices for cooking and drinking; other people do not wash, so why should the Makonde distinguish himself by such needless eccentricity? As for shaving the head, the short, woolly crop scarcely needs it,^[49] so the second ancestral precept is likewise easy enough to follow. Beyond this, however, there is nothing ridiculous in the ancestor's advice. I have obtained from various local artists a fairly large number of figures carved in wood, ranging from fifteen to twenty-three inches in height, and representing women belonging to the great group of the Mavia, Makonde, and Matambwe tribes. The carving is remarkably well done and renders the female type with great accuracy, especially the keloid ornamentation, to be described later on. As to the object and meaning of their works the sculptors either could or (more probably) would tell me nothing, and I was forced to content myself with the scanty information vouchsafed by one man, who said that the figures were merely intended to represent the *nembo*—the artificial deformations of *pelele*, ear-discs, and keloids. The legend recorded by Pater Adams places these figures in a new light. They must surely be more than mere dolls; and we may even venture to assume that they are—though the majority of present-day Makonde are probably unaware of the fact—representations of the tribal ancestress.

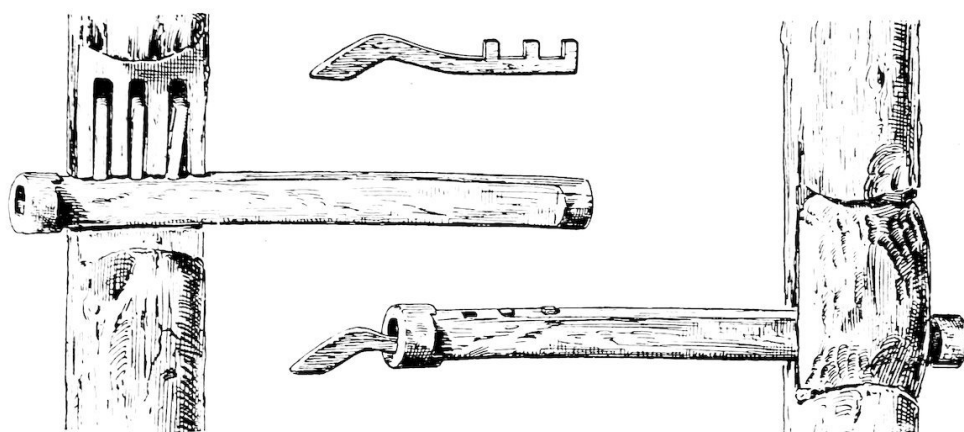
The references in the legend to the descent from Mahuta to the Rovuma, and to a journey across the highlands into the Mbekuru valley, undoubtedly indicate the previous history of the tribe, the travels of the ancestral pair typifying the migrations of their descendants. The descent to the neighbouring Rovuma valley, with its extraordinary fertility and great abundance of game, is intelligible at a glance—but the crossing of the Lukuledi depression, the ascent to the Rondo Plateau and the descent to the Mbemkuru, also lie within the bounds of probability, for all these districts have exactly the same character as the extreme south. Now, however, comes a point of especial interest for our bacteriological age. The primitive Makonde did not enjoy their lives in the marshy river-valleys. Disease raged among them, and many died. It was only after they had returned to their original home near Mahuta, that the health conditions of these people improved. We are very apt to think of the African as a stupid person whose ignorance of nature is only equalled by his fear of it, and who looks on all mishaps as caused by evil spirits and malignant natural powers. It is much more correct to assume in this case that the people very early learnt to distinguish districts infested with malaria from those where it is absent.

This knowledge is crystallized in the ancestral warning against settling in the valleys and near the great waters, the dwelling-places of disease and death. At the same time, for security against the hostile Mavia south of the Rovuma, it was enacted that every settlement must be not less than a certain distance from the southern edge of the plateau. Such in fact is their mode of life at the present day. It is not such a bad one, and certainly they are both safer and more comfortable than the Makua, the recent intruders from the south, who have made good their footing on the western edge of the plateau, extending over a fairly wide belt of country. Neither Makua nor Makonde show in their dwellings anything of the size and comeliness of the Yao houses in the plain, especially at Masasi, Chingulungulu and Zuza's. Jumbe Chauro, a Makonde hamlet not far from Newala, on the road to Mahuta, is the



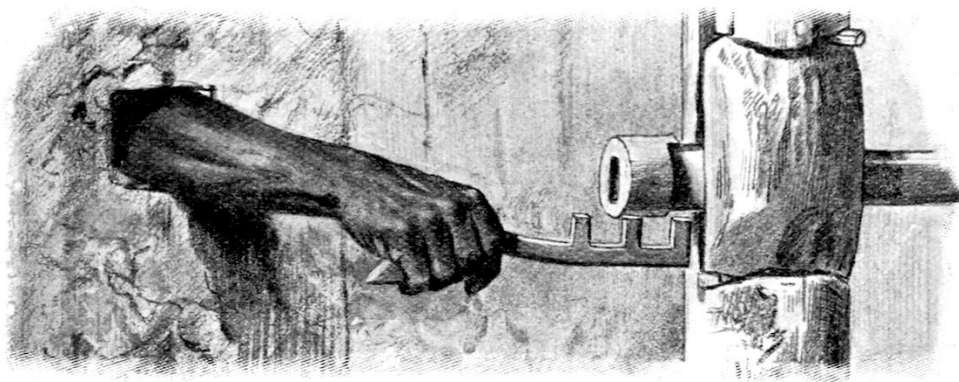
USUAL METHOD OF
CLOSING HUT-DOOR

most important settlement of the tribe I have yet seen, and has fairly spacious huts. But how slovenly is their construction compared with the palatial residences of the elephant-hunters living in the plain. The roofs are still more untidy than in the general run of huts during the dry season, the walls show here and there the scanty beginnings or the lamentable remains of the mud plastering, and the interior is a veritable dog-kennel; dirt, dust and disorder everywhere. A few huts only show any attempt at division into rooms, and this consists merely of very roughly-made bamboo partitions. In one point alone have I noticed any indication of progress—in the method of fastening the door. Houses all over the south are secured in a simple but ingenious manner. The door consists of a set of stout pieces of wood or bamboo, tied with bark-string to two cross-pieces, and moving in two grooves round one of the door-posts, so as to open inwards. If the owner wishes to leave home, he takes two logs as thick as a man's upper arm and about a yard long. One of these is placed obliquely against the middle of the door from the inside, so as to form an angle of from 60° to 75° with the ground. He then places the second piece horizontally across the first, pressing it downward with all his might. It is kept in place by two strong posts planted in the ground a few inches inside the door. This fastening is absolutely safe, but of course cannot be applied to both doors at once, otherwise how could the owner leave or enter his house? I have not yet succeeded in finding out how the back door is fastened.



MAKONDE LOCK AND KEY AT JUMBE CHAURO

This is the general way of closing a house. The Makonde at Jumbe Chauro, however, have a much more complicated, solid and original one. Here, too, the door is as already described, except that there is only one post on the inside, standing by itself about six inches from one side of the doorway. Opposite this post is a hole in the wall just large enough to admit a man's arm. The door is closed inside by a large wooden bolt passing through a hole in this post and pressing with its free end against the door. The other end has three holes into which fit three pegs running in vertical grooves inside the post. The door is opened with a wooden key about a foot long, somewhat curved and sloped off at the butt; the other end has three pegs corresponding to the holes, in the bolt, so that, when it is thrust through the hole in the wall and inserted into the rectangular opening in the post, the pegs can be lifted and the bolt drawn out. ^[50]



MODE OF INSERTING THE KEY

With no small pride first one householder and then a second showed me on the spot the action of this greatest invention of the Makonde Highlands. To both with an admiring exclamation of "*Vizuri sana!*" ("Very fine!"). I expressed the wish to take back these marvels with me to Ulaya, to show the Wazungu what clever fellows the Makonde are. Scarcely five minutes after my return to camp at Newala, the two men came up sweating under the weight of two heavy logs which they laid down at my feet, handing over at the same time the keys of the fallen fortress. Arguing, logically enough, that if the key was wanted, the lock would be wanted with it, they had taken their axes and chopped down the posts—as it never occurred to them to dig them out of the ground and so bring them intact. Thus I have

two badly damaged specimens, and the owners, instead of praise, come in for a blowing-up.

The Makua huts in the environs of Newala are especially miserable; their more than slovenly construction reminds one of the temporary erections of the Makua at Hatia's, though the people here have not been concerned in a war. It must therefore be due to congenital idleness, or else to the absence of a powerful chief. Even the *baraza* at Mlipa's, a short hour's walk south-east of Newala, shares in this general neglect. While public buildings in this country are usually looked after more or less carefully, this is in evident danger of being blown over by the first strong easterly gale. The only attractive object in this whole district is the grave of the late chief Mlipa. I visited it in the morning, while the sun was still trying with partial success to break through the rolling mists, and the circular grove of tall euphorbias, which, with a broken pot, is all that marks the old king's resting-place, impressed one with a touch of pathos. Even my very materially-minded carriers seemed to feel something of the sort, for instead of their usual ribald songs, they chanted solemnly, as we marched on through the dense green of the Makonde bush:—

(An octave lower on the piano.) Air A.

Da, si, ge mu, rum, ba ba, na m, ku, bwa u, si, ga, we nam, ba, cha.

ku, la ni ma, li si, ri, ka, li nam, ba, wa, ku, ho, fu ni na.

1. Leader 2. Air B

ni da, si, ge ni mu, pe, le-ka, ge mu, pe, le-ka, ju, va na ba, na m, ku, bwa

sim, ba mli, ma go, do, ka ma, na, ku, ba Da, si, ge mu, rum, ba ba, na

m, ku, bwa u, si, ga, we nam, ba, cha, ku, la ni ma, li si,

ri, ka, li nam, ba, wa, ku, ho, fu ni na, ni mu, pe, le-ka, ge

mu, pe, le-ka, ju, va na ba, na m, ku, bwa sim, ba mli, ma go, do, ka

Air A.

da, si, ge mu, rum, ba ba, na m, ku, bwa u, si, ga, we nam, ba, cha.

Air B

ku, la ni ma, li si, ri, ka, li nam, ba, wa, ku, ho, fu ni na, ni mu, pe, le-ka, ge

mu, pe, le-ka, ju, va na ba, na m, ku, bwa sim, ba mli, ma go, do, ka

Air A.

da, si, ge mu, rum, ba ba, na m, ku, bwa u, si, ga, we nam, ba, cha.

ku, la ni ma, li si, ri, ka, li nam, ba, wa, ku, ho, fu ni na, ni.

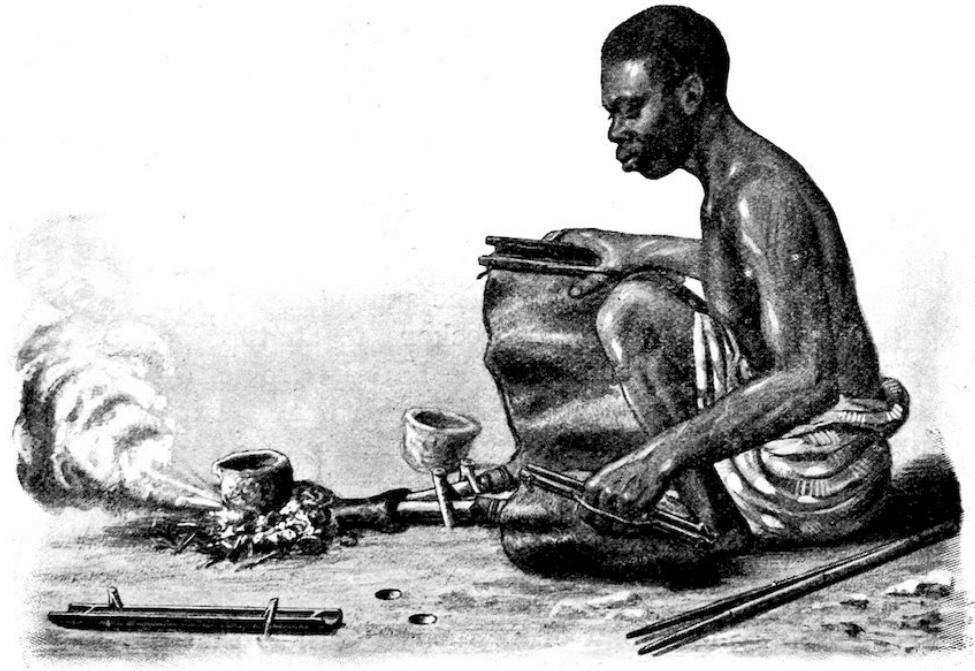
“We shall arrive with the great master; we stand in a row and have no fear about getting our food and our money from the Serkali (the Government). We are not afraid; we are going along with the great master, the lion; we are going down to the coast and back.”

With regard to the characteristic features of the various tribes here on the western edge of the plateau, I can arrive at no other conclusion than the one already come to in the plain, viz., that it is impossible for anyone but a trained anthropologist to assign any given individual at once to his proper tribe. In fact, I think that even an anthropological specialist, after the most careful examination, might find it a difficult task to decide. The whole congeries of peoples collected in the region bounded on the west by the great Central African rift, Tanganyika and Nyasa, and on the east by the Indian Ocean, are closely related to each other—some of their languages are only distinguished from one another as dialects of the same speech, and no doubt all the tribes present the same shape of skull and structure of skeleton. Thus, surely, there can be no very striking differences in outward appearance.



THE ANCESTRESS OF
THE MAKONDE

Even did such exist, I should have no time to concern myself with them, for day after day, I have to see or hear, as the case may be—in any case to grasp and record—an extraordinary number of ethnographic phenomena. I am almost disposed to think it fortunate that some departments of inquiry, at least, are barred by external circumstances. Chief among these is the subject of iron-working. We are apt to think of Africa as a country where iron ore is everywhere, so to speak, to be picked up by the roadside, and where it would be quite surprising if the inhabitants had not learnt to smelt the material ready to their hand. In fact, the knowledge of this art ranges all over the continent, from the Kabyles in the north to the Kafirs in the south. Here between the Rovuma and the Lukuledi the conditions are not so favourable. According to the statements of the Makonde, neither ironstone nor any other form of iron ore is known to them. They have not therefore advanced to the art of smelting the metal, but have hitherto bought all their iron implements from neighbouring tribes. Even in the plain the inhabitants are not much better off. Only one man now living is said to understand the art of smelting iron. This old *fundi* lives close to Huwe, that isolated, steep-sided block of granite which rises out of the green solitude between Masasi and Chingulungulu, and whose jagged and splintered top meets the traveller's eye everywhere. While still at Masasi I wished to see this man at work, but was told that, frightened by the rising, he had retired across the Rovuma, though he would soon return. All subsequent inquiries as to whether the *fundi* had come back met with the genuine African answer, "*Bado*" ("Not yet").



BRAZIER

Some consolation was afforded me by a brassfounder, whom I came across in the bush near Akundonde's. This man is the favourite of women, and therefore no doubt of the gods; he welds the glittering brass rods purchased at the coast into those massive, heavy rings which, on the wrists and ankles of the local fair ones, continually give me fresh food for admiration. Like every decent master-craftsman he had all his tools with him, consisting of a pair of bellows, three crucibles and a hammer—nothing more, apparently. He was quite willing to show his skill, and in a twinkling had fixed his bellows on the ground. They are simply two goat-skins, taken off whole, the four legs being closed by knots, while the upper opening, intended to admit the air, is kept stretched by two pieces of wood. At the lower end of the skin a smaller opening is left into which a wooden tube is stuck. The *fundi* has quickly borrowed a heap of wood-embers from the nearest hut; he then fixes the free ends of the two tubes into an earthen pipe, and clamps them to the ground by means of a bent piece of wood. Now he fills one of his small clay crucibles, the dross on which shows that they have been long in use, with the yellow material, places it in the midst of the embers, which, at present are only faintly glimmering, and begins his work. In quick alternation

the smith's two hands move up and down with the open ends of the bellows; as he raises his hand he holds the slit wide open, so as to let the air enter the skin bag unhindered. In pressing it down he closes the bag, and the air puffs through the bamboo tube and clay pipe into the fire, which quickly burns up. The smith, however, does not keep on with this work, but beckons to another man, who relieves him at the bellows, while he takes some more tools out of a large skin pouch carried on his back. I look on in wonder as, with a smooth round stick about the thickness of a finger, he bores a few vertical holes into the clean sand of the soil. This should not be difficult, yet the man seems to be taking great pains over it. Then he fastens down to the ground, with a couple of wooden clamps, a neat little trough made by splitting a joint of bamboo in half, so that the ends are closed by the two knots. At last the yellow metal has attained the right consistency, and the *fundi* lifts the crucible from the fire by means of two sticks split at the end to serve as tongs. A short swift turn to the left—a tilting of the crucible—and the molten brass, hissing and giving forth clouds of smoke, flows first into the bamboo mould and then into the holes in the ground.

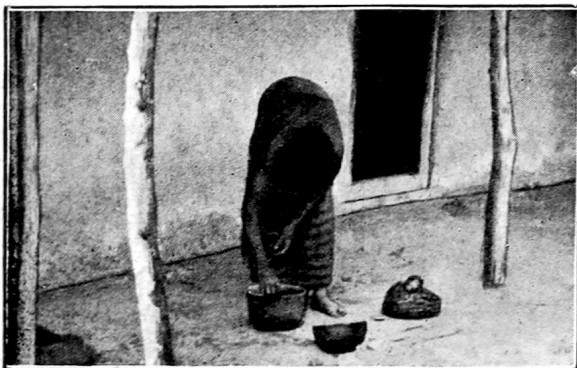
The technique of this backwoods craftsman may not be very far advanced, but it cannot be denied that he knows how to obtain an adequate result by the simplest means. The ladies of highest rank in this country—that is to say, those who can afford it, wear two kinds of these massive brass rings, one cylindrical, the other semicircular in section. The latter are cast in the most ingenious way in the bamboo mould, the former in the circular hole in the sand. It is quite a simple matter for the *fundi* to fit these bars to the limbs of his fair customers; with a few light strokes of his hammer he bends the pliable brass round arm or ankle without further inconvenience to the wearer.



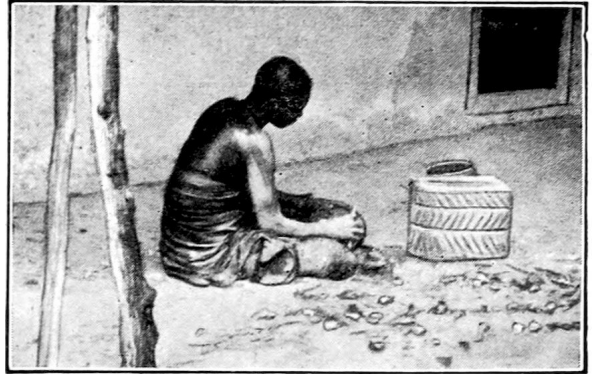
SHAPING THE POT



SMOOTHING WITH MAIZE-COB



CUTTING THE EDGE



FINISHING THE BOTTOM



LAST SMOOTHING BEFORE
BURNING



FIRING THE BRUSH-PILE



LIGHTING THE FARTHER SIDE OF
THE PILE



TURNING THE RED-HOT VESSEL

NYASA WOMAN MAKING POTS AT MASASI

Pottery is an art which must always and everywhere excite the interest of the student, just because it is so intimately connected with the development of human culture, and because its relics are one of the principal factors in the reconstruction of our own condition in prehistoric times. I shall always remember with pleasure the two or three afternoons at Masasi when Salim Matola's mother, a slightly-built, graceful, pleasant-looking woman, explained to me with touching patience, by means of concrete illustrations, the ceramic art of her people. The only implements for this primitive process were a lump of clay in her left hand, and in the right a calabash containing the following valuables: the fragment of a maize-cob stripped of all its grains, a smooth, oval pebble, about the size of a pigeon's egg, a few chips of gourd-shell, a bamboo splinter about the length of one's hand, a small shell, and a bunch of some herb resembling spinach.



MAKUA WOMAN
MAKING A POT.
SHOWS THE
BEGINNINGS OF THE
POTTER'S WHEEL

Nothing more. The woman scraped with the shell a round, shallow hole in the soft, fine sand of the soil, and, when an active young girl had filled the calabash with water for her, she began to knead the clay. As if by magic it gradually assumed the shape of a rough but already well-shaped vessel, which only wanted a little touching up with the instruments before mentioned. I looked out with the closest attention for any indication of the use of the potter's wheel, in however rudimentary a form, but no—*hapana* (there is none). The embryo pot stood firmly in its little depression, and the woman walked round it in a stooping posture, whether she was removing

small stones or similar foreign bodies with the maize-cob, smoothing the inner or outer surface with the splinter of bamboo, or later, after letting it dry for a day, pricking in the ornamentation with a pointed bit of gourd-shell, or working out the bottom, or cutting the edge with a sharp bamboo knife, or giving the last touches to the finished vessel. This occupation of the women is infinitely toilsome, but it is without doubt an accurate reproduction of the process in use among our ancestors of the Neolithic and Bronze ages.

There is no doubt that the invention of pottery, an item in human progress whose importance cannot be over-estimated, is due to women. Rough, coarse and unfeeling, the men of the horde range over the countryside. When the united cunning of the hunters has succeeded in killing the game; not one of them thinks of carrying home the spoil. A bright fire, kindled by a vigorous wielding of the drill, is crackling beside them; the animal has been cleaned and cut up *secundum artem*, and, after a slight singeing, will soon disappear under their sharp teeth; no one all this time giving a single thought to wife or child.

To what shifts, on the other hand, the primitive wife, and still more the primitive mother, was put! Not even prehistoric stomachs could endure an unvarying diet of raw food. Something or other suggested the beneficial effect of hot water on the majority of approved but indigestible dishes. Perhaps a neighbour had tried holding the hard

roots or tubers over the fire in a calabash filled with water—or maybe an ostrich-egg-shell, or a hastily improvised vessel of bark. They became much softer and more palatable than they had previously been; but, unfortunately, the vessel could not stand the fire and got charred on the outside. That can be remedied, thought our ancestress, and plastered a layer of wet clay round a similar vessel. This is an improvement; the cooking utensil remains uninjured, but the heat of the fire has shrunk it, so that it is loose in its shell. The next step is to detach it, so, with a firm grip and a jerk, shell and kernel are separated, and pottery is invented. Perhaps, however, the discovery which led to an intelligent use of the burnt-clay shell, was made in a slightly different way. Ostrich-eggs and calabashes are not to be found in every part of the world, but everywhere mankind has arrived at the art of making baskets out of pliant materials, such as bark, bast, strips of palm-leaf, supple twigs, etc. Our inventor has no water-tight vessel provided by nature. “Never mind, let us line the basket with clay.” This answers the purpose, but alas! the basket gets burnt over the blazing fire, the woman watches the process of cooking with increasing uneasiness, fearing a leak, but no leak appears. The food, done to a turn, is eaten with peculiar relish; and the cooking-vessel is examined, half in curiosity, half in satisfaction at the result. The plastic clay is now hard as stone, and at the same time looks exceedingly well, for the neat plaiting of the burnt basket is traced all over it in a pretty pattern. Thus, simultaneously with pottery, its ornamentation was invented.

Primitive woman has another claim to respect. It was the man, roving abroad, who invented the art of producing fire at will, but the woman, unable to imitate him in this, has been a Vestal from the earliest times. Nothing gives so much trouble as the keeping alight of the smouldering brand, and, above all, when all the men are absent from the camp. Heavy rain-clouds gather, already the first large drops are falling, the first gusts of the storm rage over the plain. The little flame, a greater anxiety to the woman than her own children, flickers unsteadily in the blast. What is to be done? A sudden thought occurs to her, and in an instant she has constructed a primitive hut out of strips of bark, to protect the flame against rain and wind.

This, or something very like it, was the way in which the principle of the house was discovered; and even the most hardened misogynist

cannot fairly refuse a woman the credit of it. The protection of the hearth-fire from the weather is the germ from which the human dwelling was evolved. Men had little, if any share, in this forward step, and that only at a late stage. Even at the present day, the plastering of the housewall with clay and the manufacture of pottery are exclusively the women's business. These are two very significant survivals. Our European kitchen-garden, too, is originally a woman's invention, and the hoe, the primitive instrument of agriculture, is, characteristically enough, still used in this department. But the noblest achievement which we owe to the other sex is unquestionably the art of cookery. Roasting alone—the oldest process—is one for which men took the hint (a very obvious one) from nature. It must have been suggested by the scorched carcase of some animal overtaken by the destructive forest-fires. But boiling—the process of improving organic substances by the help of water heated to boiling-point—is a much later discovery. It is so recent that it has not even yet penetrated to all parts of the world. The Polynesians understand how to steam food, that is, to cook it, neatly wrapped in leaves, in a hole in the earth between hot stones, the air being excluded, and (sometimes) a few drops of water sprinkled on the stones; but they do not understand boiling.

To come back from this digression, we find that the slender Nyasa woman has, after once more carefully examining the finished pot, put it aside in the shade to dry. On the following day she sends me word by her son, Salim Matola, who is always on hand, that she is going to do the burning, and, on coming out of my house, I find her already hard at work. She has spread on the ground a layer of very dry sticks, about as thick as one's thumb, has laid the pot (now of a yellowish-grey colour) on them, and is piling brushwood round it. My faithful Pesa mbili, the *mnyampara*, who has been standing by, most obligingly, with a lighted stick, now hands it to her. Both of them, blowing steadily, light the pile on the lee side, and, when the flame begins to catch, on the weather side also. Soon the whole is in a blaze, but the dry fuel is quickly consumed and the fire dies down, so that we see the red-hot vessel rising from the ashes. The woman turns it continually with a long stick, sometimes one way and sometimes another, so that it may be evenly heated all over. In twenty minutes she rolls it out of the ash-heap, takes up the bundle of spinach, which has been lying for two days in a jar of water, and

sprinkles the red-hot clay with it. The places where the drops fall are marked by black spots on the uniform reddish-brown surface. With a sigh of relief, and with visible satisfaction, the woman rises to an erect position; she is standing just in a line between me and the fire, from which a cloud of smoke is just rising: I press the ball of my camera, the shutter clicks—the apotheosis is achieved! Like a priestess, representative of her inventive sex, the graceful woman stands: at her feet the hearth-fire she has given us beside her the invention she has devised for us, in the background the home she has built for us.

At Newala, also, I have had the manufacture of pottery carried on in my presence. Technically the process is better than that already described, for here we find the beginnings of the potter's wheel, which does not seem to exist in the plains; at least I have seen nothing of the sort. The artist, a frightfully stupid Makua woman, did not make a depression in the ground to receive the pot she was about to shape, but used instead a large potsherd. Otherwise, she went to work in much the same way as Salim's mother, except that she saved herself the trouble of walking round and round her work by squatting at her ease and letting the pot and potsherd rotate round her; this is surely the first step towards a machine. But it does not follow that the pot was improved by the process. It is true that it was beautifully rounded and presented a very creditable appearance when finished, but the numerous large and small vessels which I have seen, and, in part, collected, in the "less advanced" districts, are no less so. We moderns imagine that instruments of precision are necessary to produce excellent results. Go to the prehistoric collections of our museums and look at the pots, urns and bowls of our ancestors in the dim ages of the past, and you will at once perceive your error.



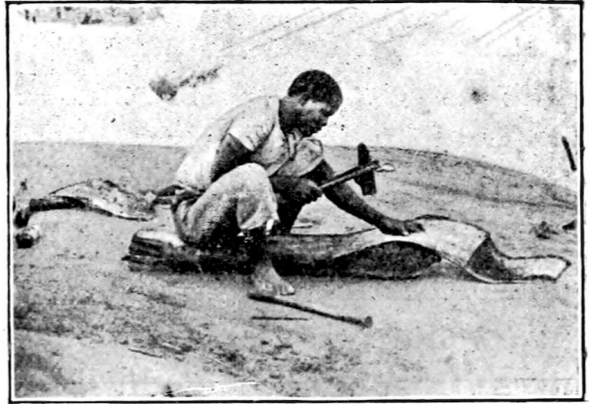
MAKING LONGITUDINAL CUT IN
BARK



DRAWING THE BARK OFF THE LOG



REMOVING THE OUTER BARK



BEATING THE BARK



WORKING THE BARK-CLOTH AFTER BEATING, TO MAKE IT
SOFT

MANUFACTURE OF BARK-CLOTH AT NEWALA

To-day, nearly the whole population of German East Africa is clothed in imported calico. This was not always the case; even now in some parts of the north dressed skins are still the prevailing wear, and in the north-western districts—east and north of Lake Tanganyika—lies a zone where bark-cloth has not yet been superseded. Probably not many generations have passed since such bark fabrics and kilts of skins were the only clothing even in the south. Even to-day, large quantities of this bright-red or drab material are still to be found; but if we wish to see it, we must look in the granaries and on the drying stages inside the native huts, where

it serves less ambitious uses as wrappings for those seeds and fruits which require to be packed with special care. The salt produced at Masasi, too, is packed for transport to a distance in large sheets of bark-cloth. Wherever I found it in any degree possible, I studied the process of making this cloth. The native requisitioned for the purpose arrived, carrying a log between two and three yards long and as thick as his thigh, and nothing else except a curiously-shaped mallet and the usual long, sharp and pointed knife which all men and boys wear in a belt at their backs without a sheath—*horribile dictu!* [51] Silently he squats down before me, and with two rapid cuts has drawn a couple of circles round the log some two yards apart, and slits the bark lengthwise between them with the point of his knife. With evident care, he then scrapes off the outer rind all round the log, so that in a quarter of an hour the inner red layer of the bark shows up brightly-coloured between the two untouched ends. With some trouble and much caution, he now loosens the bark at one end, and opens the cylinder. He then stands up, takes hold of the free edge with both hands, and turning it inside out, slowly but steadily pulls it off in one piece. Now comes the troublesome work of scraping all superfluous particles of outer bark from the outside of the long, narrow piece of material, while the inner side is carefully scrutinised for defective spots. At last it is ready for beating. Having signalled to a friend, who immediately places a bowl of water beside him, the artificer damps his sheet of bark all over, seizes his mallet, lays one end of the stuff on the smoothest spot of the log, and hammers away slowly but continuously. “Very simple!” I think to myself. “Why, I could do that, too!”—but I am forced to change my opinions a little later on; for the beating is quite an art, if the fabric is not to be beaten to pieces. To prevent the breaking of the fibres, the stuff is several times folded across, so as to interpose several thicknesses between the mallet and the block. At last the required state is reached, and the *fundi* seizes the sheet, still folded, by both ends, and wrings it out, or calls an assistant to take one end while he holds the other. The cloth produced in this way is not nearly so fine and uniform in texture as the famous Uganda bark-cloth, but it is quite soft, and, above all, cheap.

Now, too, I examine the mallet. My craftsman has been using the simpler but better form of this implement, a conical block of some hard wood, its base—the striking surface—being scored across and

across with more or less deeply-cut grooves, and the handle stuck into a hole in the middle. The other and earlier form of mallet is shaped in the same way, but the head is fastened by an ingenious network of bark strips into the split bamboo serving as a handle. The observation so often made, that ancient customs persist longest in connection with religious ceremonies and in the life of children, here finds confirmation. As we shall soon see, bark-cloth is still worn during the *unyago*,^[52] having been prepared with special solemn ceremonies; and many a mother, if she has no other garment handy, will still put her little one into a kilt of bark-cloth, which, after all, looks better, besides being more in keeping with its African surroundings, than the ridiculous bit of print from Ulaya.



MAKUA WOMEN